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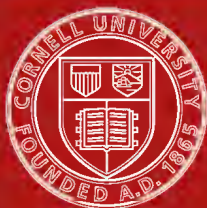
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*Michael Schlatter V.D.M.*

From the Steel Engraving made in 1847.

# THE PIONEERS

OF THE

Reformed Church in the United  
States of North America.

BY

H. J. RUETENIK, D. D., LL. D.



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## INTRODUCTION.

In 1899 the author was invited to prepare for the Reformed Assembly a paper on the Pioneers of the Reformed Church in the United States. Upon setting to work he found such an abundance of valuable material in Dr. J. I. Good's History of the Reformed Church in the United States from 1725-1792, and in some other works of minor importance, that he became deeply interested in his task, and felt constrained to put it into the more permanent form of a little book so arranged as to bring out clearly and prominently the most important facts and the most efficient men of this period, the Genesis of the American Reformed (German) Church.

From past experience present duties are learned by the church as well as by men. A careful study of God's dealings with men is most helpful in forming a correct conception of God's purposes with them. It is not only that people thus learn to magnify the goodness of God, and His mysterious indwelling in His Church, but they are also led to obtain a better insight into Christ's purposes with that particular branch of the church, with which they stand connected and to which they owe their loyal allegiance.

The visible church, it is true, falls far short of sinless perfection. The truthful historian has to chronicle many

shortcomings and failures incident upon her noble labors. Her best men are no better than David or Peter or Paul. But if we cannot always be proud of our church, we have always good reason to be grateful for what God worked through our forefathers. If hero-worship is not to be cultivated, there still remains the sacred duty of honoring father and mother, the first command that has promise.

The Chinese deify their ancestors, and—stagnate. The impious of all nations despise them, and—drift away. The wise build on the foundations laid by them, and—raise “each temple” nearer to heaven.

May this book with all its imperfections—and they are seen by no one more clearly than by its author—afford some help to all who desire to love their church, not blindly, but sincerely and intelligently.

The author’s thanks are due to Prof. W. J. Hinke, so favorably known for the accuracy and conscientiousness of his researches, who very kindly consented to revise the historical data.

*October, 1901.*

THE AUTHOR.

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## I. THE PIETISTS.

The first German Reformed congregation in North America was organized in Virginia, in 1714, by Siegen people.

The principality of Siegen, Stilling's home, at that time was one of the many petty sovereignties constituting the German empire. It was a mountainous country, not far from the lower Rhine, and was inhabited by a poor but intelligent population.

It is true, they lived somewhat isolated, and did not come in contact very freely with the big bustling world. Trade and industries in our times considered absolutely necessary to higher civilization, were not carried on to any considerable extent. But they were deeply interested in religion; the number of converted persons was quite large among them; they were studying their Bibles carefully and regularly; they were truly enlightened by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them and in their congregations. And they were kept from stagnation by frequent intercourse with the pious circles in neighboring countries. New ideas were constantly conveyed to them by spiritually minded visitors coming from far and near, and thus a lively interest in the woes and joys of Christendom everywhere was fostered.

Their princes being of the house of Orange, and their religion being the Reformed, there naturally was

much intercourse between Siegen and Holland, where at that time great revivals were going on, brought on by the earnest preaching of men like Lodenstein, Labadie, and others, during the terrible devastations with which bigoted Louis XIV. visited the Netherlands.

Here it happened that *Pastor John Henry F. Haeger*, of Fischbach, heard of Gov. Spottswood, the Virginian, inviting miners to settle in his province for the development of its mining resources, and in 1711 he started to go there with twelve families, all expert in the mining carried on extensively in Siegen. In 1714 they settled on the Rapidan river, at what is now called Germanford, in Virginia.

It so happened that, in November, 1715, a traveler, John Fontain, passing through that part of Virginia, spent a few days with them, and afterward published an account of what he had seen. He describes their settlement as a fortified place palisaded with stakes thick enough to resist a musket shot, and driven in close together. He found nine houses within, for so many families, all built in one line, with sheds for their hens and pigs about twenty feet from each house, all in line with the dwellings. In the center of the enclosure there stood a large blockhouse, for a retreat and citadel in case hostile Indians should succeed in forcing the stockade. Its walls were loopholed for muskets.

Fontain called at the pastor's house for a lodging, and was there given some good straw to sleep on, but he had nothing to eat; there was no food suitable for

him in the house, nor in the whole settlement, and he had to depend on his own provisions brought along. But the bread of life was not wanting. That strong house in the center was not built for Indian warfare only, it also was their spiritual stronghold for protection against the lowness of spirit, not to say despair, that could not fail to darken their souls in the solitude of a trackless wilderness, without all the accustomed comforts of life, with hunger and cold, with the hardest of unprofitable work. Once every day the colonists met here to find comfort and spiritual strength in prayer and psalmody; on Sundays two services were held. Their German exercises were not understood by the visitor, but their spirit was felt. He says they appeared very devout, and joined most heartily in the singing of psalms.

In the year 1719, when Pastor Haegener had grown old, and his son, who had taken orders in the Episcopal church, could not minister to their wants, they sent one of their number, J. C. Zollikofer, to Germany, who inserted an appeal for a pastor in a newspaper published in Frankfurt A. M. But nothing came of it. Finally they abandoned their colony, because the governor of Virginia refused to give them legal titles to their land. Schlatter found them, twenty-five years later, in Germantown, Fauquier Co., Va.

These people did not owe their religion to America, but America is indebted to them for bringing it along from their home in Germany, which at that time was a stronghold of Reformed life. The Palatinate with its

university at Heidelberg, the cradle of German religious freedom founded on Free Grace, had fallen into other hands, but its treasure had been transferred to *Herborn* in the Lower Rhine region. Here Ursinus, the brains, and Olevianus, the heart of Reformed doctrine, after they had been driven from Heidelberg, taught Christ, the source of true life, and Holy Scripture, the standard of true doctrine. And independently of their work, all along the lower Rhine from Wesel upward to Frankfurt, Reformed congregations had been built up by refugees from England, from France, and from Holland, men who had loved the Kingdom of God better than their country. When their government would force them to worship God in what they felt convinced to be an unscriptural and unholy form, they had turned their backs on homes as sweet and as dear to their hearts as ours are to us. The new congregations thus formed in their German exile were by them named the Churches under the Cross. No golden crosses, it is true, glittered from their steeples; but the cross planted and rooted in their hearts was reflecting so bright and kindly a light, that many of their German neighbors were attracted by it and united with the Church under the Cross. In this way the stanch Reformed Churches of the Lower Rhine had been established, which to this day are towers of strength and beacons of light in Jesus Christ. Peter Minuit, the first good governor of New Amsterdam, had come from them, and later on many of their elect followed.

They loved liberty, not in lawless license, but in

Christ, who can make men free indeed, since He was obedient to death, even to the death on the cross. Such freedom made them worthy of citizenship in this new world, which God in His wisdom for many centuries had hidden from European civilization with its kings and popes, until the time was fulfilled, when the Reformation began to bring out the full stature of manhood in Christ, adult Christianity so to speak, weaned from the leading-strings of childhood. Christendom in the new world was not to be hampered by the institutions and traditions of the pre-reformation age. Its liberty must luxuriate in virgin soil.

But although Lower Rhineland was the first to send a few of her best children to the land of freedom, Upper Rhineland soon sent ten thousands of people not to be despised either. Here was the Palatinate with its vineclad hills and its waving wheat fields, the home of the Heidelberg catechism testifying to the christian's personal experience of guilt and misery as well as of salvation found and felt, and the home of Frederik III, who alone in the Great Diet of Catholic and Lutheran dignitaries confessed his Reformed convictions "even if it should cost him a cap full of blood."

His house had been blessed of God, until Frederick V. became king of Bohemia and was on the point of making the Reformed Church the leading one in Germany. But he failed most miserably, and Ichabod was written over the doors of her temples and palaces. Then came the war of thirty years, and the rule of Roman Catholic electors, and the intrigues of Jesuits, and finally Louis

XIV. of France sent Melac with fire and sword to reduce the cities to ruins and the fields to a wilderness.

But man's necessity is God's opportunity. To the Palatinate church lying in her blood by the wayside he said: "Thou shalt live." Fifteen thousand Palatines fled down the Rhine to Holland, and thence to England. Encamping in the outskirts of London, they were cared for by Queen Anne and by noble-minded Englishmen; even the savage Mohawk chiefs from the province of New York, who at that time were staying in London, befriended them and invited them to their fertile lands on the Mohawk, up the Hudson river.

About three thousand of these Palatines were transported to the province of New York, but were there held in severe servitude. A large portion of them then made their way to the Mohawk, but after they had cleared their fields, were told that they could not own their lands. Once more they then arose, and hearing of Penn's just and liberal rule in Pennsylvania, they placed themselves under the guidance of Conrad Weiser, one of their own young men who had made friends of the Indians. He guided them over the mountains to the sources of the Susquehanna, down which river they floated with their cattle and household goods, until they reached the beautiful banks of the Swatara. Here at last they found a permanent home where the swallow could build her nest and rear her young. In the course of time, many thousands of their friends followed them, and Eastern Pennsylvania became the new home of the Reformed Palatinate

church. More than one hundred years ago, the electors of the Palatinate following the Reformed instincts of tolerance, had offered an asylum to the Mennonites, whom neither Catholic nor Lutheran would tolerate in their lands. Now the Quakers paid back the debt of gratitude for their fellow sectarians and verified God's promise: "Cast thy bread upon the waters, and after many years thou shalt find it again," Eccl. xi:1.

Rhineland begins in Switzerland and ends in Holland, and the whole basin, from the snowclad Alps to the seawashed dykes, teems with an industrious and liberty-loving population, the light and the salt of which are the sons and daughters of the Reformed Church that give tone and character to its life. Nor were they to prove a blessing at home only; they were also to have their share in the making of America. From every one of the countries of the Rhine, not from the Palatinate only, or Siegen, or Nassau, but from Switzerland also, and from the borders of Holland, a large number of earnest Christians came to the American settlements early enough to exert a permanent influence on the formation of their character.

We have no full records of their exact numbers, but in Dr. Good's History the names of more than one hundred of the earliest Reformed ministers are given, and in most cases their places of nativity, and it seems quite safe to assume that, generally speaking, the people came from the same countries with their pastors.

According to Prof. Hinke's latest list containing the

names of one hundred and ten Reformed pastors in America from 1725-1792

Twenty came from Switzerland,  
Twenty-nine from the Palatinate,  
Five from the Lower Rhine,  
Eight from Westphalia,  
Thirteen from Hessen and Nassau,  
One from Holland,

Nine from other parts of Germany, viz., Hanover, Magdeburg, Anhalt, Tyrol, mostly coming from colonies of Huguenot refugees there.

Four were born in America, and of twenty-one their place of nativity is unknown.

The greater moiety of these, sixty-one, had taken a regular theological course of study at Reformed universities, and that then meant that they were well grounded in the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. It did not mean, however, the stricter form of it, *supralapsarianism* teaching that God from all eternity, before Adam's fall in paradise, foreordained and elected those that were to be saved and that Christ died for them only. It meant *infralapsarianism* as formulated in the famous canons of Dort, 1619, that Christ's death and blood is a sufficient ransom for all humanity, and that after Adam's fall God fore-ordained in Christ those that were to repent, to believe, and to be saved. It did not mean that God forces repentance and faith upon His elect as if they were sticks or stones, but it meant that through the means of grace, by the Holy Ghost,

he instructs and persuades and convinces them of the truth as it is in Jesus.

In those times theology was in the air. In our materialistic age we are hardly able to form a conception of such a state of things. In our times the leaders of people are indifferent to theology, and the laboring men hostile to it, but in those times kings and statesmen took a vital interest in theological questions, and, in forming their alliances and planning their policy, were to a large extent guided by theological issues. In every university the theological faculty took the lead of all others; public education was intensely religious; the great apostacy of the last days had then not yet produced that shameful slighting of spiritual things which now is limiting religious instruction to the few that are not entirely given to the pursuit of worldly things.

Under such circumstances, with the establishment of the calvinistic doctrine in any state its people were taught that salvation came not by human effort; that nobody can save himself; that without grace divine nobody may love God nor his neighbor, but all are prone to disobey every divine commandment; that in order to be saved, we must humbly pray for light divine and life divine, and patiently, perseveringly wait on God in the attitude of penitent prayer until it pleases Him in His infinite compassion to grant us pardon and parental love, without any merit or worthiness whatever on our part, for Christ's sake only.

It is true that at present the state-church-system is not favorable to personal experience of religion in its

clergy. At present, candidates for the ministry in Germany are examined for license by government officials, who would hardly ask them whether they have received the Holy Ghost. Examining boards of today there inquire into the scientific attainments, and at the best into the moral character of applicants. But in those times the classes and the synods had not yet yielded to the state their right and duty to examine and license candidates, and, in consequence, the ministers who then came over, as a rule, were men not only well grounded in doctrine, but also matured in personal piety.

Some were more than that; they were

#### PIETISTS.

The name of Pietists came into use about the year 1680, when a Lutheran minister from the Elsass, Speener by name, who during his stay at the Strassburg University had become acquainted with Reformed views and practices, introduced them in his pastoral work at Frankfurt A. M. The Reformed made a regular practice of holding prayer-meetings; they were administering church discipline; they made a point of teaching that true Christians during their lifetime receive, through the Spirit, an assurance of forgiveness and of their heavenly inheritance. Among the Reformed people these things were looked upon as a time-honored practice, but in Lutheran circles they challenged attention and opposition, and soon a name was found for what they considered a more than doubtful innovation. They called it pietism, or piety over-

done. The opprobrious term, very improperly, from the Lutherans passed over into those circles of the Reformed church, where lukewarmness and worldliness had come to prevail, and where ardent love of Christ and full consecration to His service had come to be looked upon as cant and caprice.

Let us now, for an illustration of this "Pietism" in the Reformed church, hear the story of a Swiss pastor that came to Philadelphia in 1710,

SAMUEL GULDIN.

He was born in Bern, Switzerland, in 1664, and received his education in the same city, preparatory to the ministry. In a pamphlet of his, an apology of his so-called pietistic practices, he has transmitted to posterity an interesting account of his early life, from which the following is taken :

There were four of us, Samuel Guldin, Jacob Dachs, Samuel Schumacher, and Christopher Lutz who, in 1689, determined to make a trip from Bern to Geneva. We resolved to make it a distinctively christian journey, to avoid the vain disputes common among students, and to gather heavenly treasure. While at Geneva, Lutz took sick. During this sickness not only was he brought to a profound realization of his spiritual condition, but all of us, who before never could be one of mind, were now so well united in spirit, that ever since we have remained faithful to each other. This happened in Geneva, Calvin's city. Then we journeyed together to Lausanne, and ever after held daily meetings in the morning and in the evening, to worship God.

In August, 1692, Guldin, then 28 years old, was made pastor at Stettlen, one league east of Bern. He

was a pious and earnest minister, but not yet satisfied with his own inner life. He had not the full peace of God. He lacked the certain assurance of having been made perfect in Christ. He did not expect moral sinlessness, but a perfect imputation of Christ's merits to his own soul, and a certain, permanent knowledge of the same, as taught in the Heidelberg catechism, question 60:

How art thou righteous before God?

Only through true faith in Jesus Christ; thus, that although my conscience convicts me that I have grievously sinned against all the commands of God, and never kept any of them, yea, still am prone to all evil, nevertheless God without any merit of mine, from mere mercy, donates and imputes to me the perfect satisfaction, righteousness, and holiness of Christ, as if I never had committed or harbored any sin, and as if I had rendered all the obedience, which Christ performed for me, on the sole condition of my accepting that benefit with a believing heart.

On Christmas, 1792, Schuhmacher informed Guldin by letter that he had passed from darkness to the light. This made so deep an impression on Guldin's mind, and he felt so dissatisfied with his own condition, that he determined upon abandoning the ministry, because entirely unfit for it and unworthy of it. But on the day fixed upon for writing out his resignation, the longed-for experience of a change of heart came. He has given a full account of it, which will be here repeated in his own words. We will add only, that, like John the Apostle, John 1:39, he remembered for life the very hour when he found the Lord, and that like Paul, he frequently told the story to others.

On the fourth of August 1693, between nine and ten in the morning, the light of faith rose and was born within me. At that hour all my doubts and scruples passed away, and never afterward affected me. And I began to preach with a new power so that all my congregation noticed the change that had taken place in my soul.

After this, he no more preached doctrine in lifeless words, but testified to the Gospel as he had experienced its power. He no more belonged to those who believe because taught by men or books, but because they have heard Christ himself, John iv: 42. Now his preaching became so forceful and impressive that great crowds were attracted by it from other parishes as well as from his own, for the word of God had grown scarce in those days. The fame of his powerful preaching spread far and wide; three years later he was called to Bern, the capital of Switzerland, as assistant preacher in the largest church there, where thousands might be benefited by his preaching.

But it was not to be so. His friend Lutz, when he heard of his election to that place, wrote him a letter of congratulation, in which, unfortunately, some disparaging remarks about the clergy of Bern occurred, and that letter fell into the hands of the authorities just at a time when their minds were rather strongly exercised over the emotional and sensational preaching of a certain Koenig. He was an upright and earnest man, but thought that the millenium was then on the point of coming, and when preaching on that subject had indulged in frequent sharp criticisms of the clergy and the government. In consequence, Koenig and Lutz

and Guldin were summoned to appear before the High Council and were there bidden to sign a renunciation of certain commendations of revivalism published by the Reformed Theological Seminary of Saumur, France, which had attracted general attention, and which the Berne authorities considered responsible for the attitude taken by Koenig, Lutz and Guldin.

But the three delinquents could not be prevailed upon to sign the document, and, in punishment, Koenig was banished, and Guldin's call was revoked. Lutz was permitted to remain. Guldin was appointed pastor of an obscure village in the rough mountains, where he labored for a short time and then concluded to emigrate to America.

We have no definite account of his work here. He arrived in 1710, and bought the first plantation he saw, not far from Philadelphia, at Roxbury. Here he seems to have stayed and to have worked as a farmer, to support his family. He did not content himself with farming, however, but held meetings and preached wherever an opportunity presented itself. And that could not but happen quite frequently, since there was quite a numerous population of churchly Swiss and Germans around him. The heart of a God-called minister filled with the love of Jesus must at all times, in season and out of season, give utterance to the abundance of its sacred thoughts, and it is just such informal preaching that leads to the organization of the best churches. That he was preaching to good purpose may be inferred from the fact that soon after his arrival we hear of

Reformed congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown. He is said to have preached regularly in Roxbury and Oley, and later on in this narrative we shall hear him raise his voice in defense of the Reformed church with such a sense of authority as leaves little doubt of his having been an influential leader in the church-circles there.

Eight years after his arrival he published in book-form an apology of his own and his friends' pastoral work in Switzerland, entitled, *Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted Pietists in Bern*. The book is still in existence and presents a clear and reliable synopsis of his views and principles.

He had been accused of reading and circulating mystical books, and frankly admits the fact, but although he found many dark statements in them, obscure and unintelligible to his mind, he protests that the Council of Bern had no right to forbid reading them.

He had been charged with teaching that a Christian may become perfectly sinless in this life, but he explains that there is taught by scripture a certain perfection in Christ—Hebr. v:14, "Strong meat belongs to them that are of full age, or perfect;" Phil. iii:15, "As many as are perfect." The term perfect, Guldin says, is there frequently used in the sense of one that relies absolutely on the merits of Christ Jesus.

He had been charged with asserting that ungodly persons should not be admitted to the Lord's supper and that nobody should presume to preach the Gospel

and administer the Sacraments without an inner, divine call. To this charge he freely pleads guilty, but maintains that here he stands on good ground. For certain, no apology is needed for it.

The same is true of the next charge, that in his preaching he did not always speak with pastoral dignity and propriety, but would often use the phraseology of conversational language. In his answer, Guldin very correctly calls attention to the fact that Christ himself in His preaching did the same thing.

Then follows the charge that without proper authority he held prayer-meetings at which, sometimes, even Anabaptists and Mennonites would be present. But what "proper authority" does a pastor need in his own congregation for the holding of such meetings? If Guldin had been reprimanded for neglecting to hold prayer-meetings, an apology might have been necessary.

Our readers, however, must not be left under the impression that the Reformed church as such is hostile to prayer-meetings and personal experience of salvation. There have been times when such was the case in certain localities, but the opposition could be but temporary. Nor did the church of Bern form an exception to the rule. Not many years passed by before the Bern church formally and officially receded from its condemnation of the Pietists. In 1730, twenty years later, Koenig was recalled from his banishment and even was created professor of theology; Lutz never had been deposed, and in his latter years received pub-

lic recognition of his valuable and splendid work; Dachs was made dean of the whole Bern church.

JOHN H. GOETSCHI.

Seventeen years after Guldin's publication of his apology, in 1735, another Swiss minister, Moritz Goetschi, arrived in Philadelphia, bringing with him a colony of four hundred Swiss originally intended for the Carolinas, which at that time had many Swiss immigrants. Like Guldin he had received a full university training, but he was not unblamable like him in character. His career and the manner in which he conducted his scheme of colonization seem open to well-grounded suspicions as to his sincerity and reliability. If, however, he erred, he also suffered for it. His journey from Switzerland to Holland, from there to England, and thence over the ocean, proved an unbroken chain of misfortunes, troubles, disappointments, and hardships.

By the time of his arrival in Philadelphia, a Reformed congregation had been organized there under Pastor Weiss, from the Palatinate, in 1727, and he had served the congregation for some years. After him, on April 24, 1734, the well-known Boehm, whose work is described more fully later on, had been elected to preach there every fourth Sunday. That was all he could do, since he had a number of other places to supply with his ministrations, and even that little could not be done with any degree of regularity.

When, therefore, the Philadelphia people heard that

a Swiss minister had arrived, their elders came on board to welcome him and to secure his services. They found him so weak from the hardships of the ocean-journey that he could not walk, but such was their desire for a minister that they placed him on a chair and carried him to the house of a friend. Here a delightful hour was spent in the exchange of greetings and news, so refreshing that they would gladly have made it a full day, but that Pastor Goetschi complained of a strange darkness clouding his eyesight and of great weariness. Meantime a bed had been made ready for him up stairs and they now carried him there, but before the head of the stairs could be reached, he sat down, folded his arms across his breast, lifted his eyes to heaven, and expired.

Fortunately, his son *John H. Goetschi*, a student of theology, who had come over with him, could be prevailed upon under these affecting circumstances to take his father's place. He was only seventeen years old, but the people insisted upon his becoming their pastor. He preached twice every Sunday, morning and evening, and after each service held catechization. Besides in Philadelphia, he also preached in a number of country places. All this was done rather irregularly, for he had not received ordination to the ministry. He had applied for it with the Presbyterians, but they had recommended him to wait until he would have completed his studies. Another irregularity was that he was intruding upon the pastoral labors of Boehm, one of the leading pioneer ministers, whose life is fully

described later on. Nor could young Goetschi maintain his position longer than four years. Still he seems to have been an earnest preacher. From Philadelphia he went to New York in 1740, where he was called by congregations in Long Island. There he united with the Dutch Reformed church, his ministry was blessed with great revivals, and he occupied, among other honorable positions of trust, that of a trustee to Queen's College.

JOHN PETER MILLER.

John Peter Miller is the representative of a somewhat different type of Reformed pioneers in America, not a pietist, but a mystic, i. e., given to a contemplative, retired life of vision and rapture rather than to public activity.

He was the son of a Reformed minister in the Palatinate, and absolved his theological studies at the Heidelberg University, but before receiving his ordination, he emigrated to America, and arrived in Philadelphia, in 1730, before the times of Goetschi. A few weeks after his arrival he presented himself for ordination before the Presbyterian Synod in session there just at that time. This body examined him carefully and was very favorably impressed with him, Dr. Andrews writing, "He speaks Latin as well as we speak our native language," and they ordained him.

The reason why he applied for ordination with the Presbyterians rather than with the Reformed church was that the German Reformed had no synodical organization and that the Dutch church was rather dis-

tant. Boehm, who had in the preceding year, 1729, received his ordination from the Dutch in New York, after much wearisome delay, wanted him to follow his example, but Mueller, like most German newcomers in America, had wrong ideas of liberty, confounding lawlessness with it. The difference of liberty from servitude is not in the absence of law, but in one's attitude toward the law. The slavish servant obeys the laws upon compulsion, of necessity, but the free citizen, from choice, willingly, having himself had his share in their making. But Mueller said to Boehm that "In this land of glorious liberty Christians are free, and Christ alone is their head." He forgot that Christ, our Lord and Master, does not rule arbitrarily but according to well established laws and forms.

As an ordained minister Mueller served the Philadelphia congregation one year only. In the country congregations he succeeded better and might finally have settled down to permanent usefulness, had he not fallen in with one of God's curiosities, a man named *Conrad Beissel*.

He was a leader of Seventh Day Dunkards, or Baptists, who aimed at a life of sinless perfection to be reached by withdrawing from the world and even from family-life. They taught that sin began to enter this world when Adam desired a helpmate, by whom he was afterwards seduced. To avoid the snares of the world they had built a large monastery in Ephrata, Pa.

Beissel resolved to convert to his faith the Reformed ministers that began to arrive, since they were more

spiritual than the Lutherans. Every day he prayed to God on his knees to "Give him one of these preachers for the better carrying on of God's work." First he prayed for the conversion of Rev. Rieger, a fellow student of Mueller, who had come before Mueller and was preaching in those parts. But Rieger married, and Beissel complained to God: "O Lord, thou sufferest them to spoil on my very hands." But nothing daunted he next turned his attention to Mueller, and with him he succeeded. At the same time he also gained over Conrad Weiser, the man that led the Palatines from the Mohawk to the Swatara, three elders, and ten heads of Reformed and Lutheran families. On one day all were immersed, and the solemnity of the occasion was heightened by piling up some catechisms, hymn-books, and prayer-books, and burning them publicly, because they were the works of man and not of God.

However, the impression made did not last long. All but Mueller soon returned to their mother church. He took the new baptismal name of Jabez. I Chron. iv:10, "And Jabez was more honorable than his brethren, and his mother called his name Jabez, i. e., sorrowful. And Jabez called upon the God of Israel, saying, O that thou wouldst bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand would be with me, and that thou wouldst keep me from evil, that it might not grieve me. And God granted him that which he requested."

Of the Jabez in the Bible nothing else is known.

Few Bible students if asked who he was would know anything about him. The name was chosen, probably, for that very reason. Nor did the people know him by that name, although he continued to live in the cloister until his death, in 1796, more than sixty years. They called him Peter the Hermit. He did not entirely subordinate himself to the rules of the order, but as he loved a quiet life, and had literary tastes, and the Ephrata Society had a printing press there and published many devotional books, he had no lack of congenial work to occupy his mind. Beissel wanted him to labor as a preacher, but Mueller refused to comply.

When he had grown quite old, during the Revolutionary War, an opportunity was presented to prove in an unmistakable and ever memorable way, how genuine his faith was. There was living in Ephrata a fanatical enemy and persecutor of the cloister-people, base-minded, full of gall and bitterness, in every possible way ever ready to harm them. He was also a Tory, and as such was detected in treasonable attempts against the government of the United States. He was seized, tried, and condemned to be hanged.

As soon as Mueller heard of it, he set out on foot and walked sixty miles to Washington's headquarters, to intercede for the condemned. The general listened to his appeal with his habitual kindness, but answered that sorry as he was to disappoint Mueller, his unfortunate friend could not be pardoned—he must die.

“My unfortunate friend,” exclaimed Mueller, “why, I have no greater enemy in the world than that man.”

"What," rejoined Washington, "and you have walked sixty miles to save an enemy's life! That puts matters in an altogether different light. I grant your prayer."

The pardon was made out and without delay Mueller went on foot fifteen miles to the place where on that afternoon the execution was to take place. He arrived in the nick of time; the culprit was just on his last walk to the gallows.

"There," he cried, when he caught sight of the old man, "there is old Peter Mueller, who has walked all the way from Ephrata to see me hang."

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So little do such men know of God's children. Let us hope that he made use of the remainder of his life to repent, and that he learned to love Peter Mueller and his Savior.

The writers of history do not generally place on record the names of true heroes like Mueller. The world does not care for them. But we will not forget them. We thank God for them; we praise Him for having placed in the galaxy of the truly heroic pioneers of America such men as Haegener, Guldin, and John Peter Mueller, side by side with the followers of William Penn and Roger Williams, the Puritans and the Pilgrims.

## II. THE MORAVIANS.

About fifty years after the rise of Pietism in Germany, Count Zinzendorf founded the Moravian community. He had himself received a pietistic training, but in addition to what the pietist Lutherans had learned from the Reformed, he learned new truths from the Moravian remnants of Hussites and Bohemian Protestants, who had been persecuted by the bigoted Austrian government for centuries with unrelenting and constantly increasing violence. Under the cross they had learned to govern themselves as a church entirely free from state control, and when upon Zinzendorf's invitation they built the city of Herrnhut on his lands, Zinzendorf making common cause with them, they succeeded in establishing the first Christian church in Germany free from state control—a great advance upon the Lutheran conception of churches governed by princes and civil magistrates.

In point of doctrine, he overcame the somewhat narrow views of the Pietists on conversion. They held that to become a genuine Christian one must pass through a severe agony of repentance succeeded by transports of joy over pardon obtained from God, and that no one may claim the comforts and privileges of a true believer, who cannot point to a day on which he passed through such experience. But Zinzendorf knew Christ

from childhood; in fact, from infancy. His first childish attempts in penmanship and composition consisted in letters addressed to Jesus and cast out of the windows to be born heavenward by the winds. His plays as a boy in school culminated in the organization of the Mustard Seed Order, for united prayer and work. Unconscious of any special hour when he had accepted Christ, he had grown and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him—Luke ii: 40. From his own experience, then, he could not but reject the theory that made an agony of repentance once experienced the test of saving faith.

As for a doctrinal standard, he retained the pietistic laxity of doctrine. He did not consider creeds essential elements in the foundation of the church. Himself no theologian, he preferred the enjoyment of devotional exercises in closet and conventicle to systematic research. Although he called himself a Lutheran, he felt perfectly free to identify himself with God's people in every other denomination. From the very beginning he organized his new church on a union-basis. Its official name was the *Unitas Fratrum* (Union of Brethren).

Men might enter this Union without giving up their denominational peculiarities, and they might, furthermore, form groups in which to cultivate them. These groups were called *Tropes*. There was to be a Lutheran Tropus, a Reformed Tropus, e. a. The term was derived from a Greek word used in Phil. i: 18, where Paul speaks of some men preaching Christ in contention, but does not complain of it; he rather rejoices in

that, "Every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein rejoyce, yea and will rejoyce." The word *way* stands for the Greek *tropos*.

Quite a number of Lutherans and Reformed fell in with Zinzendorf's plan and formed Tropes in connection with the new church. But a much larger number of adherents came from various sects in the Palatinate, in Siegen, in Wittgenstein, and some other Reformed states in the Lower Rhine region. In those times the Lutheran and the Catholic princes did not tolerate sects; their subjects must have the religion of their rulers. But the Reformed were more tolerant and offered them asylums in their territories. Some of these sectarians indulged in mystical speculations and claimed to have special inspirations and visions revealing to them the near advent of the millenium. They interpreted the seven congrations named in Revelation ii. and iii. to mean seven periods in the history of the church. In the order of these chapters the one of Laodicea comes last and that of Philadelphia second last. Now Philadelphia means Brotherly Love, and on this ground the Moravian church, the Unity of Brethren, was thought to usher in the second-last period, and the promise given Rev. iii: 7, was applied to them, "I will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the earth." Possibly, the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, may have received its name on similar grounds, for Wm. Penn always maintained an intimate intercourse with sects in Germany.

These pious members of sects and of the Reformed

and the Lutheran church seem to have known Jesus, Him whom to know means to love Him, and not only to love Him, but also to love Him better than their own church community. The better men love Christ, the more they enjoy fellowship with Christ's own in other denominations. But how to temper such largeness of heart with loyalty to the church, that is a problem not easy to solve, and the mildness of the Reformed people, their liberality, and tolerance of other Christians has frequently misled them into an indiscreet zeal for fellowship with men of other churches, and to a fatal disregard of ecclesiastical duties. They would break the outward form of the church so necessary to its work and its very existence, as one breaks the shell of a nut to get at the kernel, thus killing its very life and its power of germination.

Let us now see how the Reformed pioneers in Pennsylvania had to wrestle with the problem of liberality combined with loyalty.

When Zinzendorf, in Nov., 1741, came to America, he found in the Reformed congregations many pious souls most favorably disposed, having been well prepared for his coming by active members of the Moravian settlements in Bethlehem and other places of Pennsylvania. They had been informed of his wonderful achievements. He also brought along with him a number of amiable Reformed companions, pious, earnest, and spiritual in their conversation, among whom his own almost supernaturally lovely face beaming with the happiness of a child-like faith and

reflecting the full peace of a consecrated life, shone forth like a sun among his planets.

One of these companions was *John Brandmueller*, a bookkeeper from Reformed Basel, but now a member of the Moravian congregation there, well gifted in speech. Later on he was ordained to the ministry here.

Another such was *Chr. H. Rauch*, who became a famous missionary among the Indians. To his ministry an Indian chief once bore this testimony:

"Other missionaries came before him. They preached we must not steal nor get drunk, but the birds of the trees had sung that message into our ears long before they came, and our hearts remained cold and hard as stones. Then this man came and told us that the Son of God loved us and suffered for our sins on a cross, and at his words our hearts became like wax in the noon-sun. I then was like a poor worm, around which a circle of dry leaves is burning. The worm creeps one way for to escape, but is turned back by the burning fire; it creeps another way, but the flames drive it back again; it creeps many ways, but all in vain. Finally it curls up in despair and lies down in the center, to die. Then, when I was nearly dead, lo, an arm reached down from heaven and a hand took me up and saved me."

Thus the untutored mind of the savage had apprehended the gospel, saved by grace, the story told by one who knew it by heart, i. e., by experience.

This same Rauch finally served a number of Reformed congregations in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Another bright star in this constellation was *John Lischy*, a weaver by trade, from the Elsass. There he had been awakened in a Moravian meeting to a sense of his need of a Savior. After that he had visited Herrnhuth and other hearths of the sacred fire, and all aglow with it he now came with Zinzendorf, soon to be ordained and to be made the leading spirit of the Reformed Trope. Like Rauch, he finally served a number of Reformed congregations with acceptance and success.

Their number was soon augmented by the Americans whom the Moravian leaders resident in Bethlehem had prepared for Zinzendorf's coming.

*Henry Antes*, a native of the Palatinate, was an influential elder of the Reformed congregation, at Falkner's Swamp. He enjoyed general confidence for his integrity and sound judgment as well as for his earnest piety. He seems to have been well educated, for whenever any legal business was to be done, his neighbors would come to him for advice and for the making out of documents. Seven years before Zinzendorf came, Spangenberg, Zinzendorf's theologian, had commenced visiting Antes, and had so well prepared the ground that Zinzendorf came to see him almost immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia, and could at once induce him to issue a circular calling upon all who longed for a union of God's people to meet for prayer and deliberation in Germantown, now a suburb of Philadelphia.

The Reformed congregation of Germantown at that

time was served by *John Bechtel*, one of those pious men without a theological training who then were officiating in Reformed congregations. By trade he was a turner, nor had he given up working at the turning lathe in his own workshop after he had been called to the ministry. In his youth he had been converted, after he had sowed his wild oats quite recklessly. Then he had married and had emigrated from his home in the Palatinate in 1726, together with a large number of his countrymen. He had settled in Germantown, and there he had for two years given his time to the cares and labors of pioneer life, and to the establishment of his mind in the knowledge and the love of his God. His home had become a temple of the Holy Spirit, and his heart the abode of Christ. And since Christ never can be idle, Bechtel, for whom to live was Christ, could not be inactive with him. He held prayer-meetings every morning and every evening on week-days, also on Sundays. By the Reformed people of those days such exercises were looked upon with much favor, and four years later the leading men of the congregation just then engaged in building a church,\* thought that even

\*In Dr. Good's History the laying of the corner stone is said to have occurred in 1719; the same date is given in Dubbs' American Church History, viii: p. 245, and in Hallische Nachrichten. But the Swedish pastor, Dylander, who laid the cornerstone, did not come to Pennsylvania before 1737, eighteen years later, and one of the Germantown elders writes in a letter dated July 14, 1744: "Some ten years ago four members of this congregation did their very best to build a church."

Also Boehm says in his letter of Oct. 28, 1734, that the congregation had indeed made good progress with the building of their church, but was heavily oppressed with debts.

W. J. HINKE.

if Bechtel lacked education and ordination, he would be the suitable man to build up the church. Bechtel was given a call and entered upon his pastorate in 1733.

Like Antes, Bechtel had held frequent intercourse with the Moravians, especially with Spangenberg, and had come to think very highly of them. His address had been furnished to Zinzendorf in Europe, and no sooner had Zinzendorf landed in New York, even before coming to Philadelphia, than he sent him a letter to Germantown with an invitation, appointing the time and place for an interview in Philadelphia. Bechtel felt perplexed; he hesitated to commit himself; but one of his daughters urged him on, and when her arguments and entreaties failed to overcome his doubts, she ran into the pasture behind their house, caught her father's horse and soon had it bridled and saddled in front of the house. Such ardent appeal was not to be resisted. Bechtel went to see the remarkable man, and on the next day the remarkable man came to see Bechtel. And a complete conquest resulted, so complete that the first conference of The Congregation of God in the Spirit, for such was the official title of the new organization, could be called to meet in Bechtel's church. Zinzendorf was invited also to preach a series of sermons there.

A third friend of the Moravians was *John Barth. Rieger*, the fellow-student of Mueller, whom Conrad Beissel had tried so hard to convert to mysticism, now pastor of the Reformed congregation at Lancaster. He had previously become acquainted with the Moravians,

perhaps with Zinzendorf himself, when studying in Basel. Zinzendorf now paid him a visit in Lancaster and received a cordial welcome. From his pulpit, on next Sunday, Rieger highly commended the great leader and his cause.

After these preparations the conference was held in Germantown on January 1 and 2. The Lutherans, the Reformed, the Mennonites, the Seventh-Day Dunkards of Ephrata, the Schwenkfeldians, the Inspired, and the Separatists were represented, a queer crowd, but they made up by sincerity for what may have been lacking in dignity. As was to be expected, the proceedings were not altogether harmonious, and some complaint was made about Zinzendorf's rather imperious manner. Probably some of these curious saints with more imagination than common sense could not well be curbed without a bold assumption of authority on the leader's part. Nevertheless, some good results were reached sufficiently encouraging to proceed with the work and to hold six more conventions in the five subsequent months, and a permanent organization was effected, a basis on which to work together.

Of the Reformed Trope, consisting of Reformed ministers and congregations joining the new union, Bechtel was made Inspector, and he was authorized to write and publish a new catechism for their use. That was a fatal error. If the Reformed Trope was to consist of men continuing to hold Reformed views, no such office should have been created, and no such authority should have been given to one man. The Re-

formed church holds fast to the parity of all its ministers and elders as taught by Christ, Luke xxiii:8, "For one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Nor could they substitute a new catechism for the Heidelberg, if they would claim to stay Reformed. But they objected to questions 81 and 114, where the necessity of a continued repentance and a daily conversion of believers is taught, and where the most pious are said to make but a very small beginning in keeping the laws of God.

To vest Bechtel's new catechism with more authority, and to make it more palatable, it was said to be based on the Canons and Essentials of Christian Faith promulgated by the Synod of Bern, in the early days of the Reformation, in 1532. But the claim cannot be sustained. In point of fact, Bechtel's catechism passes by in absolute silence the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the doctrine of the Trinity, and other "essentials." Of baptism it says that it was instituted in memory of Christ, and the Lord's supper is ignored entirely.

On the other hand, the book is not without its merits. Like all modern christianity it is more practical, and has more to say about the true manner of apprehending and accepting salvation on the part of man, than the older testimonies. Much is said about conversion and about the true Christian life. But the author is far from relying on man's natural strength for it; much stress is laid on Christ's love and its power, on the efficacy of His death, and on faith.

From a copy before the author, printed in 1742 by Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia, the following questions are translated as samples of its eminently practical character :

167. Wherein does conversion really consist?

In turning from Satan's power to that of God.

168. Who is Satan?

An angel who did not keep his first estate, but left his own habitation. Jud. 6.

169. What is he doing?

He walks about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour. I. Pet. v: 8.

170. Whom does he get?

He deceiveth the whole world. Rev. xii: 9.

171. What has he to do with the world?

He is the God of this world. II. Cor. iv: 4.

172. What else is he?

Its father. John viii: 44.

173. Who are his subjects?

He worketh in the children of disobedience.

174. But would people leave him?

If once their eyes were opened. Acts xxvi: 18.

175. But how may one get away from him?

Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved. Acts xvi: 3.

176. But if one cannot believe?

God offers faith to every one. Acts xvii: 31.

177. But what is faith?

Calling on him whom we do not see as if we saw him. Heb. xi: 27.

178. How far must that go?

Even as if you saw the prints of his nails, and laid your fingers into the prints of his nails, and thrust your hand into his side.

For some time it seemed as if the new organization would split and disintegrate the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. By ordaining Rauch, Antes, Brandmueller, and Lischy, the conference could count six Reformed pastors, men of undoubted piety and power. In one of their meetings three Indians, Mohawks from New York converted through Rauch's labors, were baptized. There were other very solemn and impressive scenes in other conferences. But a reaction set in. First the Seventh-day Baptists withdrew. Then the Reformed became disaffected because Moravian customs were pressed upon them, after large numbers of Moravians had come over as a compact colony. Lischy took offence at the introduction of white vestments and long litanies. In Lancaster the Reformed congregation would not sustain Pastor Rieger in his efforts to befriend the Moravians, and so he had to resign. The many quaint forms and customs bred in Zinzendorf's fertile mind and introduced by him for new festivals seemed contrary to the scriptural simplicity of worship. In the Moravian hymns is found more sentimental play on the emotional side of Christ's passion than sober instruction and food for the intellect. However attractive at first, these pleasantries in course of time became insipid and distasteful. Zinzendorf himself left America soon after the seventh con-

ference meeting, and the absence of his powerful personality was felt to such an extent that no further conferences were held.

Samuel Guldin, high in years, but of considerable influence among the people, raised his voice of protest. At first his longing for fellowship and increased life had impelled him to make common cause with Zinzendorf, and he attended the first of the conferences at Germantown, but he left the conference at the end of the first day. He seems to have missed the divine element in that effort at unification. In his judgment, the advocates of the movement displayed too much human zeal. In 1742 and 1743 he wrote a book to that effect and had it published in 1743, entitled, "Unpartisan Witness on the New Union of all Denominations in Pennsylvania, and also on Some Other Points."

But the most active and efficient defender of the Reformed church, to whom, next to God, its preservation in those dangerous times seems mainly due, was a man who deserves more than a passing mention,

JOHN PHIL. BOEHM.

Of the workers in Christ's church some are like high-pressure engines, and others like low-pressure ones; some are subjectively filled with strong personal convictions to be impressed upon their fellowmen, and others are objective representatives of their fellowmen's minds to be fostered in wisdom and moderation; some work in fitful flashes, and others in steady strength. Boehm was of the latter class, one of the

cleanest-cut representatives of the Pennsylvanian type, very mild, but very firm. He abounded more in common sense than in imagination, for which reason he, probably, was less efficient in the pulpit than in pastoral work.

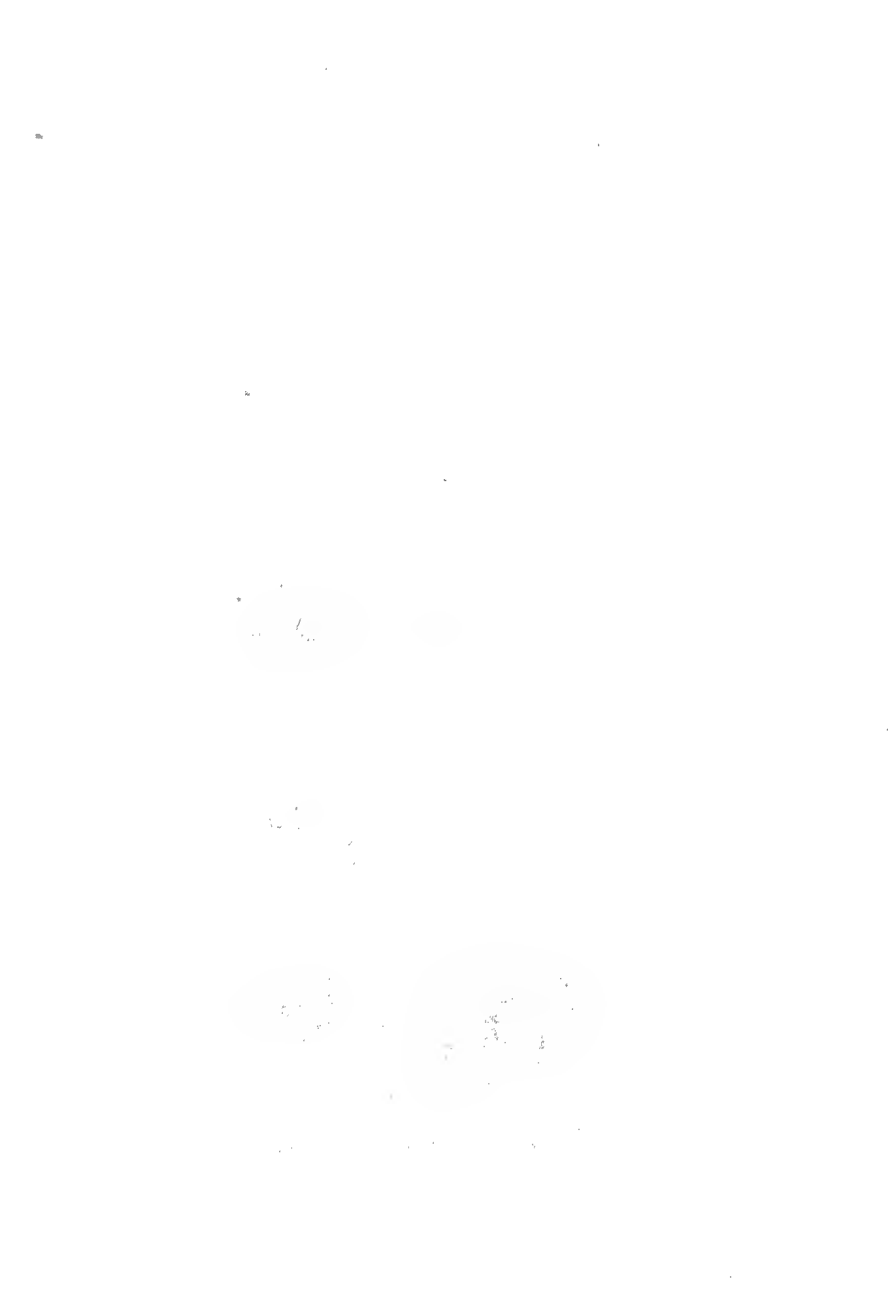
He lacked a university education, nor was there anything brilliant or catching about him, nor does he seem to have been aggressive in his labors. He rather excelled in persistence and insistence. His daily walk was without blemish, and his character altogether without reproach. If he did not arouse men to new thought, he could put together and keep together existing life-forces.

His personal experience of the inner life seems to have been like the even flow of a river without sharp turns or rapids and cataracts. He inherited from pious parents the habits of life and thought that reflect Christ's life, and from the hour of his baptism on he quietly grew into the consciousness of his salvation, not without those severe struggles, of course, and agonies even, without which it is impossible to overcome sin and self, but without experiencing those violent throes and travails to which they are subject who from outspoken enmity to the Lord pass over into devoted consecration to His service—a John the Evangelist rather than a St. Paul.

His father was a Reformed minister in Hessia, but he himself had to content himself with the humbler calling of a schoolmaster. From 1708 to 1715 he taught the Reformed School of Worms in the Palatinate. The

schoolmasters of those times were to a large extent assistants of their pastors, and had to perform many clerical functions. In the Sunday service, besides leading in the singing, they read the scripture lesson. They assisted in the administration of the Lord's Supper and of baptism, also at funerals and marriages. In school they taught scripture and catechism. In case of the pastor's absence they conducted the Sunday service and read a sermon. When in America the newcomers found themselves without pastors, they would naturally look to the schoolmasters for the conducting of public service, they being the pastor's legitimate substitutes. In the early records of Reformed churches here the names of many such are met with. There was *Conrad Tempelmann*, who began to preach in 1725, in his own house at Lebanon, and served as many as six congregations at a time, greatly beloved. *Geo. Suther* served the first congregations in North Carolina and deserves to be called the father of the Reformed church in that state. *Friedr. Casp. Mueller*, from 1774 to 1763, served a number of congregations in Eastern Pennsylvania. *John Weymer*, Otterbein's co-worker, was a schoolmaster, and so was *Peter Miller*—not identical with John Peter Mueller—who officiated in several East Pennsylvania congregations.

Boehm came to America in 1720, not from choice nor from temporal motives, but because his position had been made untenable by the intrigues and petty persecutions of Jesuits, to which the Reformed were exposed, since, in 1685, a Catholic side-line had inherited





Hochstadt near Hanau. The church in which Boehm was baptized is in the center of the picture.



The Reformed Church at Worms, where Boehm was schoolmaster.

the Palatinate, the direct line of Frederic III. of the Heidelberg catechism, having become extinct. The Catholics took from the Reformed in Heidelberg the cathedral church of the Holy Ghost, and all over the country the use of the Heidelberg catechism was forbidden because in question 80 the mass is denounced as a damnable idolatry. To every town and village Jesuits were sent to find pretexts for legal persecution and to pick quarrels with the pastors, sure in every case to end in dispossessing the Reformed of their churches and guaranteed rights.

In those times of religious oppression, from which the Lutherans and the Mennonites had to suffer no less than the Reformed, highly colored descriptions of the fertile lands in Pennsylvania were circulated in the Rhine regions by the agents of Wm. Penn, in a small book called *The Golden Book*. Fine farms were to be had for the asking, with full freedom of worship, and civil liberty and equality. A great exodus of emigration set in, and Boehm joined it.

He found the country north of Philadelphia, the Schuylkill valley, where he settled, thickly inhabited by his countrymen and coreligionists, but destitute of pastors, and when they urged him to care for their religious needs, he readily acceded to their request.

At first he officiated in the capacity of a lector only, i. e., he read sermons and conducted the service. But there was a large number of unbaptized children, and no communion had been held for many years. In this destitution the people felt that the exigencies of life in

a new world would warrant a disregard of forms and restrictions meant for their old and well established home church, the more so since this was a free country. The Falkner's Swamp congregation was the first to call upon Boehm to become their pastor, and Henry Antes, the elder, the same who afterward joined Zinzendorf, with many tears entreated Boehm to accept a call so evidently providential. He yielded, and on Oct. 25, 1725, administered the communion to forty members. In the next month he served it to thirty-seven at Schippach, and in the succeeding month to twenty-four at White Marsh.

Although by these acts Boehm clearly violated the laws of his church, it was not his mind to let license run wild. He wanted law and order, and submitted to these three congregations a complete constitution written out by himself, but based on the rules of the home-church. It was Presbyterian in government, with a consistory, and ruling elders of equal executive authority with the pastor. It was Reformed in discipline after the old type, imposing penalties on those that led a life unbecoming a Christian. It was Calvinistic in doctrine, accepting the creeds of the Reformed church in Holland at that time the leading power. Special mention was made of the canons of Dort, still less was the Heidelberg catechism overlooked.

Nor was Boehm satisfied with introducing this constitution in his own immediate vicinity. Two years later he introduced it in Conestoga and Tulpehocken

when he held communion service there. Seven years later he had it adopted by the Philadelphia congregation, and two years later in Oley. In some places, however, he met with stubborn opposition. Germantown and Goshenhoppen rejected it.

In Lebanon, Tempelman, a tailor by trade, had begun preaching at the same time that Boehm began in Falkner's Swamp. Boehm went to him, administered communion, introduced his constitution, and appointed Tempelmann his schoolmaster and reader,—rather a strange assumption of authority for one who had himself not been ordained to the ministry! But he seems to have been a man of more than average ability, who, having his own strong convictions on the necessity of a written constitution, was able to impress others with the same. After a while, however, Tempelmann was urged by his own people, who esteemed him highly for his earnest preaching, to act as their pastor and to administer the sacraments. If the Falkner-Swamp people could raise their schoolmaster to clerical dignity, why should the Lebanon church be forbidden to do the same? Moreover, the distance from Boehm's place of residence to Lebanon was embarrassingly great. Tempelmann consented, and, like Boehm, added a number of other congregations to his charge. Tempelmann died in 1761, the highly beloved pastor of an extensive field.

But the lack of a valid ordination came to be felt very painfully when, in 1727, a regular minister from the Palatinate made his appearance in Philadelphia,

*S. M. Weiss* by name, who had enjoyed school advantages far superior to those of Boehm. He had completed his theological studies in Heidelberg, had made the examinations prescribed by law, and had been ordained by proper authority to accompany a society of 400 emigrants from the Palatinate, that left in 1727. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he was at once called by the Reformed congregation there to become their pastor.

When he found the congregations in and around Philadelphia served by unordained men, he felt greatly shocked, and that feeling was intensified by persons inimical to their pastors, such as will be found wherever faithful servants of Christ are preaching the whole truth, not forgetting to reprove iniquity.

In Schippach he fell in with an elder, George Reiff by name, who had been disciplined by Boehm and who, in retaliation, had formed a counter-congregation. He easily succeeded in enlisting in his enterprise young Weiss, unsuspecting, inexperienced, impulsive, and aggressive as he was. Besides, he had quite insinuating ways about him, as was shown later on when he acted as a church collector in Holland. Unscrupulous enough to retain for his private use the money collected, he had a ready flow of tears and an imposing show of outraged innocence at his command, when called to account and confronted with documentary proof of his dishonesty. He even could forge official letters when that would serve his purposes. In consequence, Boehm found himself severely denounced

by Weiss here and in his other congregations, as one that had no right to perform clerical acts. So far was Weiss carried away by his zeal that with assumed authority he issued a formal summons to Boehm, to be tried by himself, Weiss, for officiating "without permission of the clergy, taking for a pretext that this is a free country." The summons ended with these words:

"Now, therefore, by the authority of the Most Reverend Ministry, and according to the power accorded to a regular minister of Christ, the gentleman is hereby summoned and requested to appear in Philadelphia before the Presbyterium\* of the church at the house of the minister in order to be examined by one or another of those present."

All this may sound somewhat pompous and hollow to our ears, for the Philadelphia congregation, just re-organized by Weiss, had no jurisdiction whatever over Boehm. But Weiss was puffed up by a strong sense of his superior learnedness. In the "Philadelphia Mercury" he offered his services as a teacher in logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, et a., and knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth, I. Cor iii: 1.

That the church was not edified by his course was demonstrated when a tumultuous crowd in February 1728, met before Reiff's house in Schippach, where the Sunday services had been conducted so far by Boehm, but where he now was forbidden entrance. And when,

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\*In Germany the consistory of a congregation is called Presbyterium.

in the following year, the new church-building was dedicated, and Reiff claimed it as his own property because built on his own land, Boehm and his adherents were ousted for good.

In Whitemarsh similar tumults were raised, though here Boehm's friends prevailed.

But God is good and wise, and sincere followers of Christ receive grace enough to see their errors and to make due amends. On November 23, of the next year, 1729, an impressive and solemn event occurred in New York. In the Reformed (Dutch) church there, Boehm, with three of his elders, before a large congregation, and Weiss and two worthy dominies, Revs. Boel and Dubois, after appropriate addresses, ordained and set apart for the holy ministry with laying on of their hands, by order and authority of the classis of Amsterdam, John Philipp Boehm, of Pennsylvania. Then Weiss stood up and publicly expressed his regrets for what he had done, and his willingness to make full satisfaction, and to abstain from all further interference in Boehm's pastoral work at Schippach, Falkner's Swamp, and Whitemarsh. Boehm then agreed to leave Weiss in charge of Philadelphia and Germantown.

This happy result had been brought about by Boehm's request for ordination sent to the church in Holland, which, after considerable correspondence and tedious waiting, had been granted, to be carried out by the New York pastors who then were members of the Amsterdam classis.

Thus Boehm came to be a member of the classis of

Amsterdam, which now had to exercise supervision over his pastoral work and to protect him in times of need and danger. True to his duty, as soon as the classis learned of Zinzendorf's proposed trip to America, they put him on his guard and sent him a book published by one of their pastors against the Moravians. It bore quite a formidable title:

"The naked exposed Enthusiasm, Fanaticism and corrupt Mysticism of the socalled Moravians, exhibited most clearly from their German hymnbooks and other writings and their agreement with the corrupt Mystics and Fanatics in Germany, and the Tremblers (Quakers) in England, most plainly indicated, tending to repeated faithful warning against those people, and to the complete defense of the Pastoral and Paternal Letter of the Reverend Amsterdam Consistory against the false accusations of a certain anonymous writing added back of this. Published at the earnest request and by the order of the Reverend Consistory and from the love of truth which is unto salvation, by Gerardus Kulenkamp, preacher at Amsterdam. At Amsterdam, 1739."

A warning coming by authority of his classis could not fail to impress Boehm strongly. When Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia it was Boehm's Sunday to preach in the joint Lutheran and Reformed church there,\* on Christmas Sunday, and he took occasion earnestly to warn his people against him. On the next

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\*Weiss had left years ago.

Sunday Zinzendorf was to preach for the Lutherans, and Boehm, instead of going home to his country place, made it his business to stay in Philadelphia, the rather since some of the Lutherans requested him to help them keep out Zinzendorf.

On the Sunday appointed, when he approached the church, he found a large concourse before the door, earnestly discussing the expected visit, some being for, and some against Zinzendorf's preaching there. Boehm kept his peace until some of the Lutherans asked for his opinion.

He answered, I think I have more information about these things than many of you, and therefore I must protest against any one asserting that either the Reformed or I consent to Count Zinzendorf's preaching in this church. Of course, we Reformed have no right to interfere with your disposal of your Sunday. If you do anything to your own injury, we wash our hands of the consequences.

Zinzendorf did not put in his appearance at that time, but a few days later sent a letter to Boehm's house at Witpen, by special messenger, in which he informed Boehm that the Lutherans had asked him, Zinzendorf, to preach. Being a Lutheran myself, he wrote, and having preached in many a Lutheran church before this,\* in Germany, I feel like acceding to the request. But I do not believe in the doctrine of reprobation\*\*

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\*Zinzendorf had in Germany taken regular orders as a Lutheran minister with that very object in view.

\*\*Teaching that God elected some persons to be lost forever, a doctrine falsely ascribed to the Reformed.

like you. On this account I would ask you if you have any authority to forbid me. In that case I should prefer not to preach in the church.

Boehm wrote back on the same day, that as to his right to interfere, he could not answer so quickly, but he would stand by what he had said on the previous Sunday to the Lutherans in Philadelphia.

Zinzendorf did, on the following Sunday, preach for the Lutherans, and he even succeeded in having himself elected their regular pastor. Boehm, however, gave him the cold shoulder. Subsequently, when Zinzendorf asked him to yield him his Sunday for communion-service, he curtly refused. And the Lutherans continued their arrangement a few months only. In June they forcibly ejected Zinzendorf.

In August, Boehm took a step still more decisive. He published his "True Letter of Warning addressed to the Reformed in Pennsylvania" containing extensive quotations from Kulenkamp's book, together with severe criticisms of Bechtel's catechism. He also takes exception to the irregular proceedings of the conferences.

The Moravians, in answer, published a defense. Then Boehm issued a second warning. Guldin, as stated previously, also gave into print his warnings on The True and the False Union.

These earnest efforts had their effect on the ranks of those who had entered into the union movement, wavering already from other causes. One congregation after the other dismissed their Pro-Moravian pastors.

Even Bechtel's church in Germantown, in 1744, took that step and then called Boehm as their pastor. Revs. Rieger and Lischy returned to the Reformed fold. "The Congregation of God in the Spirit" ceased to exist.

Thus the story of the Galatians of old was repeated, who "began in the spirit and expected to be perfected in the flesh," Gal. iii: 3, who would by human agencies do the Spirit's work. Evidently these men were genuine Christians and worked for a highly commendable end, viz.: a union of denominations. To this day their multiplicity is loudly calling for a remedy, and all earnest Christians are longing for the time when there will be but one Shepherd and but one visible fold. But the time has not come yet. Still less had it come then. The one wing of that movement, over-spiritual, so to speak, relying exclusively on direct revelations of the Holy Ghost, without taking the trouble involved in careful study of Scripture and patient performance of duty, could not blend with the other wing, overformal, timidly clinging to forms and traditions of human origin never meant for permanency nor for eternity. The free Jerusalem which is above, Gal. iv: 26, was not to be unveiled then, nor has she been unveiled to this day. The Spirit and the bride still cry, Come!

### III. THE DEPUTIES AND SCHLATTER.

Whilst Boehm was struggling manfully to preserve the Reformed church in Pennsylvania, the mother church in the Netherlands was preparing to help in other ways. Her sympathy had frequently been aroused by the sufferings of German Reformed people on their way to America, as well as by the religious destitution of those already in America.

The first impetus in this direction was given when in 1709 the Rhine was white with vessels bearing Palatinate refugees fleeing from Louis XIV.'s cruel generals. Of those fifteen thousand, one-half were Reformed, not destitute, it is true, of religious supplies, for they had been very careful to bring along their Bibles, their prayerbooks, and their catechisms, but they were so destitute of bodily food that during their stay in the seaports of Holland strenuous efforts on a very large scale had to be made for their relief.

Soon after this, from the Reformed authorities in the Palatinate, letters and appeals for assistance in providing pastors for the settlements in Pennsylvania began to reach Holland.

Then came Boehm's request for ordination, which led to his and Weiss' becoming regular members of the classis of Amsterdam in 1729.

In the next year the Reformed congregation of Phil-

adelphia, then engaged in the erection of a church building, resolved to send their pastor, Weiss, together with Elder Reiff, of Schippach, on a collecting tour to the Dutch brethren. In those times Holland was well known everywhere as the richest country of all the world. The two collectors arrived in due time, and were well received, for the Reformed church of Holland had a warm heart for suffering saints, in spite of their much abhorred Calvinism and their canons of Dort. Intelligent and pious Zinzendorf accused them of believing in reprobation, and to our times they are by many pious souls looked upon as sold to the idols of stern and cruel dogmatism. But often men are without cause afraid of things without reality.

The Hollanders were Calvinists, but that doctrine had by no means stood in the way of God's Spirit making His abode with them. Great revivals under Untereyk, Lodenstein, Labadie, e. a., had swept over the whole land. Then Coccejus had crystalized the new life, and taught his system of covenant-theology making God's covenant with His people the fundamental truth of Christian religion. According to this conception of theology, man is by no means consigned to passive inactivity toward God, but is put in his proper attitude of assuming duties and making pledges and promises to God, even as God pledges himself to man.

Finally Lampe had clinched the nail with his Practical System of Theology, which makes the salvation of souls the main and never-to-be-lost-sight-of object of all Scripture study.

By professors of these theological schools the pastors then in office had received their training, and by them many hearts had been awakened to the new life, the life of love. In consequence, the collectors from Pennsylvania found so many open hands that over 2,000 florins were contributed.

But this was not all. It was felt that the time had come to provide for permanent relief. Arrangements must be made to send pastors to Pennsylvania and annual remittances of money, to aid the congregations there. The matter was laid before the regular judicatories of the church, the synods and the classes, and after due consideration a standing committee was appointed of commissioners, or deputies, as they called them,—a board of missions we should call it now,—who should obtain and collect information, should examine into the merits of all appeals, and should plan collections. All letters and all moneys were to pass through their hands.

The deputies found their task not easy to accomplish. As honey attracts flies so money attracts men like Judas or serves to develop the Judas-nature of which no man is absolutely free. Weiss and Reiff were no angels. Weiss, it is true, passed through the ordeal of a collecting tour without reproach. But he was the one of the two least exposed to temptation, since Reiff had been appointed to receive all the money collected and to keep the accounts, probably on the ground that elders are better treasurers than pastors, and that pastors should not be burdened with the management of finances.

Scripture, however, does not seem to support that opinion, for St. Paul proved an untiring and successful collector for the saints in Jerusalem, disinterested to a fault, without having his spiritual activity impaired by the temporal.

However that may be, in the case of Weiss and Reiff the elder proved the weaker man, for on their return home he kept the money and resisted all attempts made by his constituents in Philadelphia to obtain a settlement.

Now Satan had good reason to rejoice. He might hope to have put an end to the pious work of the deputies. Of course, they would now in disgust abandon their work of love, and in consequence, thousands of shepherdless sheep in Pennsylvania would fall his prey. But if such was his calculation, he had not taken into account some essential factors in the Lord's affairs. Christ does not rely on the strength of man, but on the power of His own redeeming Love, and the deputies, strict Calvinists that they were, had a clear conception of sovereign grace able to save man though totally depraved. Their faith was not of the emotional cast, easily swayed by feelings of disgust and disappointment. They believed and practiced the perseverance of saints. Besides, if the Germans are said to be slow but sure, the Dutch are slower still and surer still. They did not grow weary in well doing, but they, very wisely, concluded to act with more caution and now began to cast about for more information concerning things in Penn-

sylvania, information that would enable them to carry on with better success the work assigned to them.

Nor was their firm determination shaken when new discouragements came, and when a number of ministers well recommended to them by high church officials in Germany for missionary work in Pennsylvania proved entirely unworthy of their confidence.

Their search for more information for some time seemed almost hopeless. They wrote to Weiss and Reiff, but could elicit no answer from either. Then they addressed their letters to Boehm, but years passed by and no answer came. In those times the mail service was in its infancy; the ocean was crossed in sailing vessels consuming months for one trip, and even if Boehm and Weiss wished to send information, not to speak of Reiff, reliable information was not easily obtained. When these men failed them, they wrote to whomsoever they could think of, but year after year elapsed without a single response.

And still they persevered, these noble men, noble not by virtue of birth or brilliant deed, but ennobled by unwavering faith in Christ, their Master, by whom they stood commissioned. Full fifteen years they persevered, hoping against hope, and at last their faith received its reward. All things come to him who can wait, if he waits upon the Lord. And this is one of the best tests of genuine faith, that it waits, not inactive, refraining only from activity not indicated by God himself opening the door and the way for it.

In 1745 full reports came carefully collected by

Boehm, and no sooner had they been received and read and been found reliable, than the deputies set to work. They had the reports put into print together with their own appeals for men and means, which in the name and by authority of their church were distributed all along the Rhine. One copy of them fell into the hands of a young minister of Switzerland, who took it to heart,

MICHAEL SCHLATTER.

Michael Schlatter was born July 14, 1716. His parents were able to give him a college education and a university training for the ministry, but he was not the best of students. By his lively disposition he was frequently carried away into indiscreet and even immoral acts. Caring more for adventure and excitement than for tame life at home, he several times changed his place of study and some times would abandon his studies altogether, to take up other pursuits. He spent some time at Helmstadt, in Northern Germany, and quite a number of years in Holland, at that time the golden goal of all fortune-seekers. But better councils again prevailed and he was enabled to complete his studies. Finally, when thirty years old, he was put in charge of a small suburban church in his native city, with a salary of no more than twenty dollars a year in our money. But his troubles were not over. Again he was betrayed by his passionate temper into serious indiscretions and had to leave his home abruptly, in disgrace.\*

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\*The details are recorded in a manuscript chronicle of the

Going to Heidelberg, where he had on former journeys become acquainted with men high in position, who received him kindly, he there saw the appeal sent out by the deputies, and perceiving his opportunity he at once went to Holland. By his connections in Heidelberg he had been given the best of credentials and recommendations. In those times things of this sort were not done with the scrupulous care made possible in our times of railroad, telegraph, and telephone, and besides, America was looked upon as the country where persons of a good education, who had lost standing at

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St. Gall clergy, preserved in the archives of that city. He was seduced by an abandoned woman living separated from her husband. The same archives contain three letters by the woman's father, Dean Bleyl.

The story of Schlatter's fall might have been passed over in silence here, as it has been suppressed in all books so far published on Schlatter and his times. Love is to cover the multitude of sins. But that course would have left unexplained so many occurrences in the subsequent history of the church and would so have misled the reader into misconceptions of important events and persons, that this narrative would have become fiction rather than history.

The Bible does not hide nor ignore the sins of saints. David's fall and Peter's denial and many discreditable acts of the Patriarchs are recorded without a word in extenuation, so that the readers may learn the lesson of sinners saved by grace, from deep degradation to glorious exaltation. But the Bible does not stop with the account of the saints' fall. By faith the fallen souls rise to a full and complete abandonment of that special sin. Peter never again denied Christ after he had been pardoned. And as for Schlatter, he never afterward fell into the same sin, but lived chaste to the end of his life. Had it been otherwise, his enemies would have made it known. And he had many of them, bitter and relentless.

home, might rehabilitate themselves, and such were, to this end, readily given clean papers.

The deputies read Schlatter's papers, conversed freely with him, submitted him to a rigorous examination, and came to the conclusion that he was the very man they needed to organize the Pennsylvania church. Five months after leaving St. Gall, on May 29, he set sail for America.

By his commission he was invested with the authority of a *Visitor Extraordinary*, an office not new in the Netherland church. It does not mean inspector. An inspector may act, may punish, may order work on his own judgment, but the power conferred by the deputies is the one defined in Sec. 44 of the church constitution of Dort, the fundamental law of the land:

“Zal ook de classis eenige von haaren Dienaaren, ter minsten twee, van de oudste, ervarenste en geschickteste autoriseeren, om in alle Kerken van de Staden so wel as van het platte Land, alle jaar visitatie te doen en toe to sien, of de Leeraars, Kerkenraden en schoolmasters haar ampt getrouwelijk warnemen.”

The classis shall also authorize some of its ministers, two at the least, from the oldest, most experienced, and most suitable, to hold visitation each year in the cities as well as in the open country, and to ascertain whether the ministers, the consistories, and the schoolmasters faithfully perform the duties incumbent upon them.

These visitors were to report to classis, and classis was to take action if necessary. So Schlatter was to make report, not to act. Schlatter, however, was authorized to do some things which could not be left to a classis so far away; he was to organize the Reformed

pastors and elders into a coetus, a conference subject to classis, not empowered to ordain or to discipline ministers or to pass on church ordinances. The Dutch churches in New York province, about ten or twelve in number, were just then in the same manner constituted a coetus, or "conferentie," as an integral part of the Amsterdam classis.

On Sept. 6, 1746, after a two months' sail to Boston, then the largest city in North America, Schlatter arrived in Philadelphia, at that time a city of about 10,000 inhabitants living in 2,300 houses mostly built of stone, with seven churches and two Quaker meeting-houses.

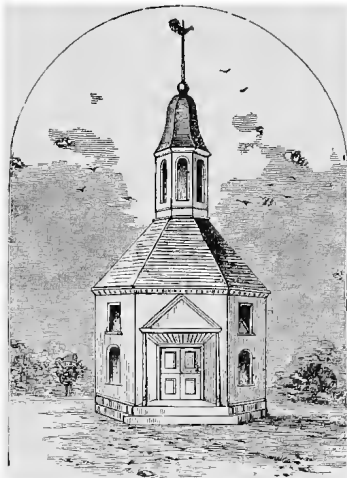
It would have been right for Schlatter, after so tedious a journey, to take a rest here, but such was not his way of doing things. One day only he remained, long enough to arrange for permanent lodgings with one of the Reformed elders there. Perhaps he was burning to make amends for his grievous fall and to show his gratitude for the Lord's merciful dealings with him. The day after his arrival, he went to Boehm in Witpen, who gave him a warm welcome. Imagine how glad this aged servant of the Lord was, who had for many years been defending his church against her adversaries, who had found it so hard to preserve and to foster the spirit of brotherly love between the few ministers then laboring in the field, and who knew of the great spiritual destitution of the congregations then about fifty in number. Imagine what must have been his joy when in the solitude of his rural home there appeared before him, altogether unexpectedly, an ambassador of

the strong and liberal mother church in the Netherlands with a message of love and a promise of assistance.

The interview of these two men must have brought extraordinary gladness to their hearts, and their united prayers of thanksgiving would certainly prove a sweet savor to God as well as a refreshing dew to their own souls. But Schlatter gave himself no rest. The very next day he set out again and went eight miles further to see Reiff, to prepare the way for a settlement of his now sixteen year old accounts as collector in Holland. Returning next day to Philadelphia he investigated the whereabouts of 130 German bibles sent from Holland four years ago, and found them in good order for distribution. Then he turned his attention to the congregation in Philadelphia and prepared its members for a solemn communion-service held in common with Boehm, in which one hundred communicants took part, men and women who never had seen in this new world two ministers together in one church distributing the sacred seals of God's promise in Christ.

Immediately after this, the two visited the congregation in Germantown, the same that under Bechtel had gone over to the Moravian conference, but had dismissed Bechtel in 1744, and had elected Boehm their pastor. This congregation was now thoroughly reorganized, and was, together with Philadelphia, constituted a charge to be served by Schlatter.

On next Friday we find him in Bucks county with a Reformed pastor named *Dorsius*, who in former years had been in correspondence with the deputies, and had



The Reformed Church at Philadelphia 1747-1772.



The Linsebuel Church a. St. Gall, Schlatter's first charge.



even been over to Holland in 1743, but who had acted in a very independent way. Here he was received kindly, but was not permitted to confer with the consistory in his official capacity.

On the same Friday he made the thirty-five miles back to Philadelphia, on horseback of course, and on the ensuing Sunday preached there and obtained a formal call as their pastor, sixty members subscribing about sixty-six dollars toward his support. Boehm, who now was sixty-three years old, acquiesced, for the time being at least.

On the Monday following he again traveled thirty-five miles to Old Goshenhoppen, where Pastor Weiss preached, who had been to Holland with Elder Reiff, and whom he prevailed upon to accompany him for a second interview with Reiff. They had a difficult task before them. That dishonest man had many profuse tears to shed over his own imaginary grievances, and many extravagant charges to make for his expenses and personal labors. He would in no wise disburse. But Schlatter would not yield. A final settlement was reached subsequently, many months later, and Reiff gave up a little less than one-half of his collections.

From here Schlatter went to Oley, to where Weiss had preceded him, and together they journeyed to Tulpehocken, one of the oldest Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. Here they met Boehm by previous appointment, who had prepared the congregation for the Lord's Supper. The celebration of the holy sacrament was more impressive yet than that in Philadel-

phia. Many people were moved to tears by the unwonted sight of as many as three ministers at a time together serving at the Lord's table. The bread of life was broken to several hundreds of communicants. Such an abundance seemed almost miraculous in those times of pioneer life and spiritual famine.

Having more fully organized this old congregation, on the next day Schlatter went to Lancaster, then a city of about 500 houses. Here Rieger had not been allowed to preach since the days of the Moravians, and Schlatter was in hopes that now a reconciliation between the pastor and the congregation might be effected, for Rieger continued to reside in Lancaster and was serving some small country congregation. Schlatter's hopes, however, were not realized. Still the visit proved by no means barren of results, for Rieger now saw into the desirability of good order in church, and consented to help Schlatter organize a coetus. He accompanied him back to Philadelphia, a distance of sixty miles, where on the 12th of October, 1746, by previous appointment, Boehm and Weiss met with them.

This was the first time these three pioneer pastors ever met together, although they had been laboring in the same district for nearly twenty years. Boehm had been with Weiss, and Weiss had been with Rieger, and Rieger had been with Boehm, but the three had never been together at once, and frequently they had been separated by jealousy and misunderstanding. Now Schlatter, after five weeks of travel and hardship, saw them reconciled, blessing the ties that bound them to-

gether, and feeling that their aims and joys and hopes were one and the same. And now they were able to devise the steps necessary for the organization of the intended coetus to be held next year.

Well might Schlatter now take a little rest and be thankful, and well might he now sit down to write out his first report to the deputies. And still better reason had the deputies to rejoice and to praise God when they received his report. With tears of joy and gratitude they wrote back:

*Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.*

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Before winter set in, Schlatter made another journey, revisiting those congregations that needed encouragement, and some others not reached previously, that had by letter asked him for ministerial service. The winter he spent in pastoral work together with Boehm.

In the next year, 1747, during the months of April and May, he made what he himself called his *grand journey*, which extended as far as to what now is called Frederick City in Maryland, a distance of 130 miles. Traveling in those days, on horseback, by bridlepath, through primeval forest and rocky mountain, meant a great deal of hardship and privation. One day he rode 15 miles without seeing a house or a human being, but the worst part of it was the crossing of rivers, which seldom could be accomplished without danger of life. Once Schlatter had to cross the Susquehanna then swollen with the spring rains, two miles wide. The

boat was manned by twelve oarsmen, and still they had hard work to stem the powerful current. When they neared the banks they could not land from their boat, but must mount horses. The slippery rocks and the half melted ice greatly troubled the horses, causing them frequently to lose their footing. But he was richly rewarded for his labors. He found an area of 7,000 acres exclusively settled by Reformed people, thrifty farmers on the richest land, and at the same time extremely anxious for the bread of life. They were then engaged in the erection of a church. Eighty-six members came to commune at the Lord's table, and about 200 dollars in our present currency were subscribed for a pastor's salary. The schoolmaster of this congregation was Mr. Schley, from whom Admiral Schley, of Santiago renown, descended. Dr. Ph. Schaff's wife also was a Schley.

His next trip was to New York, where he secured about \$250 for the church in Philadelphia. So far the congregation had worshiped in a dilapidated barn-like building, but now they were erecting a better edifice, though at present it would hardly be thought suitable. It was in the form of a hexagon, and the roof had the form of a pyramid with a steeple on the apex. But it was not for this church mainly, that Schlatter went. His main object was to consult with the Dutch brethren there about the organization of coetus. He also by correspondence and circular agitated the matter, and his efforts were crowned with success. On Sept. 29, 1747, four ministers, Schlatter, Boehm, Weiss

and Rieger, and twenty-eight elders met in Schlatter's house in Philadelphia. They organized by making Schlatter president and Boehm secretary, listened to Schlatter's reports, made reports to the deputies, and acted on requests from congregations, also on Rev. Lischy's request to be received. He had been in the Moravian movement and had come to see his error some time ago. Coetus resolved to recommend him to the deputies for reinstatement. Tempelman also was recommended to them for ordination.

Shortly after this meeting Schlatter married a daughter of a highly connected family in New York, with whom he lived happily for more than forty years. But he did not stay at home very long to enjoy his honeymoon. In October he made a journey to see about Lischy in York; in November to minister to the needs of some congregations in New Jersey. In May, 1748, he went on a journey still more extensive than the "grand journey" of 1747 to Maryland. After having revisited the Frederick people and other settlements in that colony, he crossed over into Virginia to Fredericktown and to New Germantown, where he met with those pious people from Siegen, who, in 1714, under Pastor Haegener had organized the first German Reformed congregation of North America, on the Rappahannock.

Before going to Maryland and Virginia, he had in York made an appointment with Lischy, to be back by the 17th, and had also asked Rieger to be there at that time, in order that Lischy's case might be considered

more fully. It hardly seems credible that he should have been able to keep this appointment, for on the 13th he was in the Virginia settlements and on the 15th in Frederick, Md., laboriously wending his way through almost trackless forests, crossing large rivers and rough mountains. But when the appointed day came, Schlatter was found in York, and so was Rieger. Their object was to reconcile the large congregation there with Lischy. In order to convince them of Lischy's having fully abandoned his Moravian errors, they asked him to preach a sermon on Matth. xxii: 14, "Many are called, but few chosen." Since the Moravians objected strongly to the Reformed views on predestination, by preaching on this text Lischy was to show on which side he stood. The sermon proved highly satisfactory to all, and henceforth Lischy was permitted again to preach. But he was not to administer the sacraments until the deputies would be heard from. The Lord's Supper was administered afterward to 265 persons. Indeed, there was a large field white for the harvest.

Schlatter's great joy over the rich blessings bestowed by God on his labors so far was increased by another success. On Aug. 13. two new ministers arrived, sent over by the deputies, and on Sept. 15. a third one arrived. Their names were *Bartholomaeus, Hochreutiner*, and *Leidich*. All three had received a university education, and came well recommended for their piety and their character.

With them the second coetus, opened Sept. 28, al-

though Weiss was absent, counted six ministers present. There were also present seven elders. The opening sermon was preached by Rieger on Psalm 133, "Behold how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," a favorite Scripture of the Reformed people. To this day, whenever pastors would report what is best in their work, they report that peace and harmony are prevailing, and whenever meetings of classis or synod are to be praised, this is their story, and this is their song. The Reformed church is emphatically peaceful. Some may wish the church were made of sterner stuff. They may desire more courageous fighting and standing up for fundamental truths. We are the church militant they say, and glorious in their eyes is the time when the trumpet sounds and the war steed rears. But our making is of God, and He taught us to love peace above all things. Ps. 100: 3, "The Lord is God. It is He that has made us, and not we ourselves; we are His people and the sheep of His pasture."

The proceedings consisted mainly in adopting a creed and a church constitution. The creed, as proposed by the deputies, was the Heidelberg catechism, and the canons of Dort. Rieger, however, was excused from subscribing, on account of his scruples on predestination. Boehm's constitution of 1725 was adopted with some additions. Coetus was careful to preserve the equality of ministers by giving the presidency in rotation to one after the other. The first coetus had been presided over by Schlatter, Boehm was president of the second, and Rieger was elected for the third. By a

curious arrangement, a relic perhaps of the old-country-ideas on promotion, the secretary elected for one year was by that act made president for the next. Another such relic was the establishment of a tariff for clerical service, 90 cents for marriages and 60 cents for funerals. But the Reformed character of the church was preserved by having no fees for baptisms.

Of the new ministers, Leidich was assigned to the Faulkner Swamp charge, Bartholomaeus to Tulpehocken and Hochreutiner to Lancaster. But though man proposes, it is God who disposes. The new American church was early made to learn this lesson. When Hochreutiner had his horse standing ready for his journey to Lancaster, he tried to extract a bullet from his gun; it went off, and he was killed instantly. His opening sermon, carefully written out, was found in his pocket. It was very appropriately based on I. Sam. iii: 1-11, "And the word of the Lord was precious (scarce) in those days, and there was no open vision (*Wenig Weissagung*)," etc. His theme and disposition was, The Call of Samuel; why Samuel was called; when he was called; what he was called to do.

Why did the Lord do this? His dealings with the church are mysterious and past finding out, nor may shortsighted man presume to pry into the secrets of His plans. But the great poet of England truly says that coming events cast their shadows before them, and Scripture admonishes us to watch and pray, for we know not what hour the thief may come. And so, if God sends afflictions extraordinary, the wise will take the

warning, and remember how frail a creature is sinful man, and how foolish it would be in this world to look for uninterrupted success. If man were free from pride and presumption God would indeed always continue to "build the house of His people, to fill their quivers with children, and to give His beloved sleep." Ps. 127. But no man is free from pride and presumption, and so God gives His beloved trouble.

In consequence, this is what happened.

Schlatter had acted somewhat inconsiderately and highhandedly in his dealings with Boehm. One of his first steps taken in Philadelphia had been to have himself elected pastor there and in Germantown, with Boehm's acquiescence to be sure, and yet it could not have been done without somewhat grieving him. No pastor likes to have his most important fields pass into other hands. Then, in Boehm's congregation of Falkner's Swamp, Schlatter baptized Elder Dr. Miller's wife and her eight children, without consulting Boehm. Then he had changed the consistory of the Philadelphia congregation by a new election, without Boehm, had doubled the number of elders and deacons, and making all of them stand up in line, had ordained all, the old ones as well as the newly elected. Finally he had for Boehm's liturgy of the Palatinate substituted his own liturgy of St. Gall.

For a time Boehm had submitted without protest, lest the establishment of the new church-organization should be imperiled. But after the second coetus, when the formation of a permanent authority seemed

well secured, he felt free to address a long letter to the deputies, in which he suggested the propriety of investing coetus with greater authority, and limiting that of Schlatter. Among other points he made was, that the deputies' official correspondence might now be directed to coetus, also the missionary moneys to be distributed among the ministers.

Soon after, Boehm died, April 29, 1749, and was gathered to his fathers. But that event did not put an end to these complications, for now Schlatter proposed to the church in Philadelphia to give him a formal call as sole pastor, and accompanied the proposition with some demands rather distasteful to the people. Had he known their sentiments toward him, he would probably have made no such demands, for they were by no means well pleased with his services. He was not a very impressive speaker nor did he possess the gift of winning ways. Even where he meant to confer favors, he often gave offense by the manner in which he conferred them.

Schlatter wanted a call for life, "as long as he preached the pure Gospel and led a correct life." But the consistory rejected that form and proposed another, which gave the consistory power to dismiss him in case he did not teach and walk correctly. Schlatter appealed to the congregation, and himself took the vote in a rather singular form. "All that are on my side," he said, "put on their hats." But the number of hats put on was by no means overwhelmingly large, and the result remained doubtful.

At this juncture new complications arose from a well meant act of the deputies, who sent a new minister, a Swiss, Steiner by name, that happened to be acquainted with Schlatter's antecedents. When he arrived during Schlatter's absence from Philadelphia, Schlatter's opponents at once laid hold of him, took him into their houses, and were by him informed of Schlatter's shame. An election for pastor was held, and Steiner obtained 140 votes, whilst 110 voted for Schlatter. Of course, very many of the votes cast were illegal, for the number of members entitled to a vote was by no means that large. Moreover, Schlatter contended that the congregation had no right to dismiss him; he appealed to the coetus, and that body decided in his favor, because Steiner had no documentary evidence to prove his assertions, whilst Schlatter could produce the best of testimonials and recommendations from the proper authorities.

But Steiner's party would not acknowledge the authority of coetus, and some very disgraceful proceedings ensued. To insure possession, Steiner's friends went into the church on Saturday evening and stayed there all night, with a guard of twenty-four men. When Schlatter came with his friends, at the time of service, they found Steiner in the pulpit. Schlatter called upon him in the name of God to vacate it, but to no effect. Then his friends employed a stratagem not unfrequently made use of in similar circumstances by Reformed congregations. In those days the Reformed in church sang the psalms, and when they wanted to tire

out an obnoxious preacher, they would intone the 119th psalm, which has 176 verses. And they chanted very slowly. Before the singing was over, officers of the civil magistrate made their appearance, who vacated the building, locked the door, and kept the key.

Nothing now remained but to institute legal proceedings. However, a well meaning attorney suggested a compromise, and finally the whole question was by common consent given into the hands of six arbitrators. All of these were Quakers, except one who was an Episcopalian. Having heard both parties and examined all the evidence, the arbitrators decided in favor of Schlatter. The accusations brought forward by Steiner's adherents against Schlatter's conduct in America could not be sustained, and the reports about his conduct in St. Gall were set aside.

Schlatter and his friends were now again put in possession of the church building; Steiner's friends formed another congregation and built a large new church, but the disorderly character of the ruling men led to dissensions among themselves. Two years later Steiner left them, and the whole enterprise eventually failed.

For Schlatter, however, it was a barren victory; his influence was permanently impaired, not in his congregation only, but among his fellow ministers also. The controversy in Philadelphia had lasted from October, 1749, to April, 1750, and during all this time very little could be done to supply the many vacant congregations with pastors. Steiner had turned against Schlatter, and no new minister was sent over in 1750.

Nor did any funds arrive. Boehm had died. To make things more gloomy, Bartholomaeus became insane. So discouraged were the few pastors left, that no records are extant of the coetus that met in November, 1750. At a special coetus held December 13, the conclusion was reached that Schlatter should make another journey to Europe for ministers and subventions.

It was winter, and the regular season for navigation in those days of sailing vessels had closed. But the necessities of the case seemed so urgent that as early as February 5, 1751 Schlatter set sail. With his customary zeal he applied himself most diligently to the new task.

In April he landed in Holland. The next month was spent in reporting to the deputies and explaining the state of affairs in Pennsylvania. In June he appeared before the classis of Amsterdam and met with a very favorable reception. His request for an official vindication of his course in Philadelphia was granted. His description of the destitution of the Reformed multitudes in Pennsylvania and adjacent States did not fail to make the impression desired, and a pious publisher of Amsterdam offered to print at his own expense Schlatter's journal, in which all his observations and experiences made in America during the three years spent there had been recorded with great care. Together with Schlatter's journal, an introduction to the same, and an appeal by classis for men and means based upon it was published in Dutch, in German, and in English, all at the same publisher's expense.

From classis Schlatter turned to the synods, and these responded no less warmly. Upon their representations the civil government of the Netherlands voted a subvention of 2,000 guilders, or florins,—about \$800 in our money,—to be paid at once, and the same sum yearly for five years. Liberal traveling expenses were also appropriated for Schlatter's journey through Germany and Switzerland.

The most important and promising objective point of this tour was Herborn, at that time the most flourishing Reformed university of Germany. From there Schlatter went further south to Frankfurt A. M., Heidelberg, and St. Gall. In his native city he stayed several weeks and his reception there seems to prove that the circumstances of his sin committed there five years previously, admitted of a lenient construction. His old teacher, Waegelin, recommended him and his cause, and a small donation was contributed. In Heidelberg and in Frankfurt he received several hundred dollars; in other places smaller gifts. But the best result was obtained in Herborn. Here five candidates for the ministry offered their services as missionaries in America, all well recommended by their superiors. In March, 1752, Schlatter presented them to the classis of Amsterdam. They were subjected to a careful and even rigorous examination, were found suitable for the work, and then solemnly ordained. A sixth one was added in the next month. Their names were Ph. Wm. Otterbein, J. J. Wissler, Theo. Frankenfeld, Wm. Stoy, John Waldschmidt, all of Herborn, and John Ruebel,

of Wald, Rhenish-Prussia, who had absolved his theological course in Marburg, Hussia.

The classis also gave Schlatter a letter to the Philadelphia congregation, ordering them to retain him as their pastor, and a letter to Steiner ordering him to return eighty dollars given him by the deputies for traveling expenses.

Toward the end of June, 1752, after an absence of eighteen months, Schlatter landed in Philadelphia. He returned apparently successful and victorious, having obtained liberal offerings and six co-workers and official documents in vindication of himself. But how deceptive appearances are sometimes! Not all is gold that glitters. In many an apple with red cheeks a loathsome worm is gnawing at its heart's core. Would to God that all men would realize that a contrite spirit only and a humbled heart find favor in the sight of men as well as of God. Jesus accepts sinners, it is true, but only the penitent ones. And men do not even accept the penitent sinner. Most men, most Christians not excepted, even if they forgive, cannot forget. God alone possesses the power of forgetting what he sees fit to forget. Jer. xxxi: 34, "I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more."

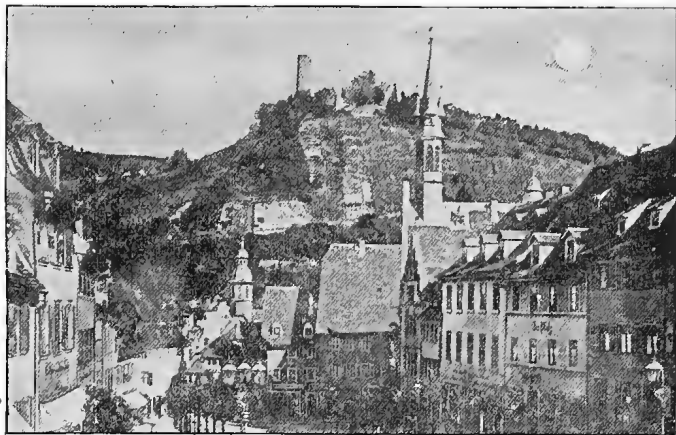
On the other side, sinners, after they have repented often forget the lesson of humility. It is reported that Schlatter did so. Two of the missionaries brought along by him, Wissler and Ruebel, immediately upon setting foot on American soil, parted company with Schlatter. They complained greatly of his imperious

manners during the voyage, and Ruebel, who was aware of Schlatter's youthful immorality, at once set to work to ingratiate himself with the Philadelphia congregation and to complete the alienation of their feelings from Schlatter. Just as three years before Steiner had been taken hold of by Schlatter's opponents, they now received Ruebel with open arms, lent their ears to his insinuations, closed their pulpit and church against Schlatter, and without allowing him to present his documents from Holland, elected Ruebel his successor. He never again preached there.

Two more of his intended co-workers failed him later on. Stoy proved a great stirrer up of strife, and after giving his brethren untold trouble, turned independent. Waldschmidt grew negligent after a short period of usefulness, and ended in indifference.

During Schlatter's absence the meeting of coetus in 1751 had been attended by three members only, who realizing that something must be done to encourage the others, issued a circular letter telling of the good success in Europe and holding out bright prospects of help at hand. In consequence, when coetus met again in annual session after Schlatter's return, the attendance was better. Four older members were present at Lancaster, October 18, 1752, Weiss, Schlatter, Rieger, and Leidich. The five new ones, and three, whose ordination and reinstatement had been submitted to the deputies and had been favorably acted upon, Lischy, Dubois, and Tempelmann, swelled the number to twelve.

But Schlatter at once threw the apple of discord



Weinheim, the birthplace of Tempelmann.



Eppingen, the birth place of Weiss.



among them. He insisted that elders should have no vote, and after he had carried his point, was unanimously elected president. But Ruebel, who had been delayed on his journey, after the election made his appearance with his two elders and created a great uproar, loudly protesting against Schlatter's fitness for the presidency.

His protest was overruled, but he did not stand alone, and so strong was the feeling that besides him three ministers, led by Weiss, with their elders left the meeting. Nor was this all. Worse things were to come. The next year saw two rival coetus in session, of equal numerical strength, both of which appealed to the deputies for recognition. And by this time the deputies lost confidence in Schlatter. For some time they had become suspicious of his character, and they had written to St. Gall for full information. In response they had received a letter from Pastor Wirtz, in Zurich, revealing the whole story. In consequence, Schlatter offered his resignation to the deputies, which was accepted. On his next trip to Holland he appeared before them and confessed all. The official minutes of his examination on this occasion as well as Wirtz's letter are preserved in the archives of Amsterdam.

Hereupon the disunited members of coetus reunited; they repealed the act by which elders had been precluded from voting, and held good, harmonious meetings in 1754 and 1755. But Schlatter never afterwards attended any of them.

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Before concluding the account of Schlatter's life, it seems proper to finish the account of Weiss' life and labors. Although Ruebel was the instigator of the strife, his character did not command sufficient respect to make him leader of the opposition. If Weiss had not committed himself to such an extent as to head the organization of a coetus free from Schlatter's influence, things might have taken an altogether different turn, for behind Schlatter the deputies stood, and behind the deputies the missionary aid and appropriations, and without these they would have been greatly crippled by poverty.

Weiss lived nine years longer. He died in 1761 in Goschenhoppen, his last charge, sixty-one years old. His share in the making of the Pennsylvania church was somewhat troublous. First he opposed Boehm on the ground that he was not ordained. After Boehm's ordination he co-operated with him. Then he went to Holland with Reiff, and aroused the sympathies of the church there so intensely that the deputies were elected. When sixteen years later the deputies sent Schlatter, he stood by him at first, but gradually withdrew from him and finally by openly opposing him may be said to have saved the life of coetus.

In the unsavory Reiff affair, Weiss' character came out without blemish. His integrity was not called in question by any one.

As a matter of curiosity, it may be noted here that he published the first book, or rather pamphlet, ever written by a German Reformed minister in America,

“A Refutation of the New Born.” The New Born are here represented as teaching that they need not pray, being one with God and illumined by the Holy Spirit. For the same reason they need neither ministers, nor public service, nor sacrament.

A copy of the pamphlet is preserved in the National library at Washington. The contents are cast in the form of a dialogue.

Weiss owned a family of slaves. After his death they were given their liberty by his widow, who also made liberal provision for them by legacy.

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Schlatter's career after his resignation has no bearing on the church. He entirely ignored the coetus and the coetus entirely ignored him, although he lived nearly forty years longer.

On his second trip to Holland he became identified with a charitable work of great promise, which, however, ended in total disappointment and caused much ill feeling. The King of England and the heads of the church there had been told that the numerous German settlers in Pennsylvania constituted a dangerous element. At that time, the French and Indian war, 1755-1763, was about to break out, which was to decide whether North America was to be all English, or half French. Suspicions were aroused that the Germans in Pennsylvania, through ignorance of the English language, might side with the French. There was not the slightest cause for such suspicion, for the Germans and the French are hereditary and in-

veterate enemies. At that very time the Germans felt more bitterly than ever against the French, because the beautiful regions of Rhineland, where the bulk of the Germans in Pennsylvania had come from, were devastated so cruelly and wantonly.

Moreover, these Germans were misrepresented as totally destitute of churches and pastors, and fast relapsing into savagery. By highly colored appeals along these lines large sums of money, amounting to \$20,000 in our money, were raised, and just at that juncture Schlatter made his appearance. Since he was so familiar with the state of things in Pennsylvania and had so much experience in traveling there, he seemed to be the right man to act as agent of the new charity, he having well proved his activity and zeal. So it came about, in February 1755, that he was appointed supervisor of charity schools in Pennsylvania to be established among the Germans to learn English. For a short time the work went on finely; in one report nine such schools are enumerated, with 600 boys taught. But when the Germans learned how they had been misrepresented, a storm of indignation arose so violent that the whole scheme collapsed.

At that time the Province of Pennsylvania had what is called a proprietary government, i. e., the governor was appointed by the proprietors, the Penns, and the people had no voice in filling the office. In consequence, the people had but little love for their governors, and since the governors favored the new charity schools, the people felt the more suspicious of them. Schlatter,

however, stood well with the governor, and when the schools failed, was given another appointment, a chaplaincy in a crack regiment, the Royal regiment levied in Pennsylvania, which formed part of an expedition sent to capture Halifax and Louisburg in French Canada. Schlatter went with the expedition, but returned home in 1759, the year after the surrender of Louisburg.

Ever after, for thirty years, he led a quiet life with his family on a small farm by him named Sweetland, four miles from Germantown on the Reading turnpike. The place at present is called Barren Hill and Chestnut Hill, and is dotted all over with beautiful residences for wealthy Philadelphians.

The proceeds of the farm worked by his boys, and his salary from an independent congregation there helped support his family, but his main income was derived from marriage fees. He still retained and used his title of Chaplain in the Royal Regiment, and continued cultivating the society of aristocratic friends that gave him a high social standing. This, together with the locality of his house, well suited for love affairs and marriages, and his social habits, made him the popular dispenser of marriage bliss. From Dec. 23, 1768, to July 9, 1770, he reported 64 marriages and received \$185 in fees, and this was by no means an extraordinary season.

This idyllic life was interrupted but once, in 1777, when after the fall of Philadelphia, British soldiers plundered his house and kept him imprisoned for a short time.

He died in October, 1790, aged 74 years.

By some authors Schlatter has been represented as a saint and a hero. Men love to worship heroes, and Christians love to worship saints. But history must be true and impartial. Untrue history is unscriptural, for scripture does not conceal the sins of its holiest men. It is a dangerous error to think that God rules his church by the virtues and the wisdom of sinless or comparatively sinless men. He rather overrules the follies and shortcomings of her leaders. For the Roman Catholic church it may be the necessary thing to fill her people with a superstitious awe and reverence for her leaders. She wants a strong government by men of might. But it behooves the Reformed church rather to magnify God and to recognize His consummate wisdom in the mastery with which He accomplishes the greatest things through weak and ignoble instrumentalities, even as human mastery in art is evidenced by wonderful workmanship done with tools defective and seemingly unserviceable.

Nor would it seem pleasing in the sight of God to build magnificent tombs for prophets stoned by their cotemporaries. Schlatter's cotemporaries were rather severe on his faults, but his indefatigable zeal, his buoyant hopefulness, and his unselfish indifference to the accumulation of wealth might still have served the church to very good purpose, if men could have forgiven and—forgotten. As it was, this much is true, that Schlatter worked hard and died poor, and that his work lives on, though he was buried before he died.



Schlatter's Home on Chestnut Hill.



#### IV. THE REVIVALS.

When Schlatter put forth his last grand effort to recover his ground, and succeeded in enlisting six additional ministers for America, he could not divine that one of them, Otterbein, the best of them, would be immortalized by a new sect. Nor was he, probably, aware that at that time a new star had appeared in the Church of England, Wesley, who was not only to found a new sect, but to herald a new era in christendom, the era of an active membership, active in spiritual things. The founder of Methodism differed from the Pietists and the Moravians in that he made the whole world his parish, and the whole parish his clergy. Every one must seek the conversion of every one he comes in contact with. Not that he had more religion than they, but that his religion was cast more aggressive than theirs.

Of these things Schlatter knew nothing. But God knew. And God looked down upon the German Reformed church in Pennsylvania in great mercy, to make her share in the new element of power. In the first quarter of the century some leaven of pietism had been mingled with her meal; in the second, Zinzendorf, who had been brought up as a pietist, brought some of his peculiar gifts to her work; in the third the deputies enriched her life with the tonic of matured calvinistic discipline; and in the fourth, Wesley, who dated his con-

version from a Moravian prayer-meeting, contributed to her heavenly treasure gems of new lustre.

*Ph. Wm. Otterbein* was born in 1726 in Siegenland, the same that gave birth to Haegener, pastor of the first German Reformed congregation ever formed in the New World. His father, a minister, died early, but his mother was one of those quiet women, who seem so inert and who develop so much reserved power when the times come that try men's souls and test their metal. She was a poor widow, but she moved to Herborn with her six sons, and there gave every one of them a university education, struggling on and working on with that heroism of self-denial, of persistence, and of incessant prayer, of which so few women and still fewer men seem capable. And she received an earnest of her reward when her motherly eye saw every one of her six sons active in the gospel ministry, and every one of them a blessing to many others.

In those days the Pietists inaugurated the modern work of foreign missions, which has since grown to such wonderful dimensions that 16,000 missionaries, aided by many more native helpers, are now in the field of glory. It was in 1706 that the Pietist university of Halle recommended one of its students, Ziegenbalg, to the King of Denmark for missionary work in the Danish colony of Tranquebar, where he gathered the Tamuls into Christian churches, the first foreign missionary of Protestantism.

Mother Otterbein became greatly interested in this new departure of Christian activity, and frequently she

was heard to say: "My William will have to be a missionary, he is so frank and so open, so natural and so prophet-like." Her wish was fulfilled, though in an unexpected way, in 1752, when Schlatter came to Herborn with the appeal and the recommendations of the Holland deputies. He had not been able to enlist any candidates in Switzerland, nor in Heidelberg either. But in Herborn he found ears to hear and eyes to see. The entire faculty seconded his efforts, and six young brethren offered their services.

There is found in the Herborn college-journal a significant entry dated February 25, 1752, written by Henry Schramm, professor of practical theology, as follows: "Rev. Mr. Schlatter handed me a list of the candidates he desires to take along with him to Pennsylvania, and prays that we give them a general academic testimonial. Shall they have such?" To which John Eberhard Rau, professor of Oriental languages, makes answer: "Yes; I hope that there is none who would not be glad to see ministers desire rather to work in foreign lands than in their own country." Such was the missionary spirit of the professors of Herborn.

Nor was Otterbein's mother less willing. Unhesitatingly she gave up one whom she had borne in sorrow and on whom she had lavished her love through years of self-denial. Taking William by his hand and pressing it to her bosom throbbing with such anguish as only a mother feels, she said: "Go. The Lord bless thee and keep thee. On earth I may not see thy face again. But go." He never forgot her. As long as she lived he

each year sent her a generous portion of his scanty salary, fifty guilders.

Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he was assigned to one of the most important, and at the same time one of the most unfortunate charges, the child of many sorrows in the family. The city of Lancaster, in the present time, is one of the centers of church activity, the seat of an academy, a college, and a theological seminary, altogether with twenty professors and five hundred students. In four beautiful churches, three English and one German, Reformed pastors serve large and influential congregations. But Otterbein found Lancaster a Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted.

The church building had been erected in 1736 under Pastor *Joh. Jac. Hock*, who left after a pastorate of but sixteen months and was not heard of afterwards. Then *Rieger* came, who received Zinzendorf and was by his people turned out of the pulpit for loving him too well, but not wisely. The congregation never after could be persuaded to forgive their pastor or to take him back. In 1745 a certain pastor, *Caspar Louis Schnorr*, commissioned by the church government of Zweibruecken in the Palatinate to go to Tulpehocken, became pastor of the Lancaster congregation. He quarreled long and bitterly with Rieger, who still lingered in Lancaster and longed for his former pulpit; besides this, Schnorr was a drunkard, and his scandalous life brought disgrace upon himself and his people. Then *Lischy*, after he had left the Moravians, essayed minis-

tering unto them, but never could win their full esteem and confidence. In 1748 young *Hochreutiner* was to serve them, but lost his life when on the point of starting from Philadelphia.

Through all these troubles the congregation retained a very large membership. Schlatter administered the Lord's Supper to 250 persons, but for three years could find no pastor for them, during which time the school-master conducted the services and read sermons. In 1750 Schlatter sent *Louis Fred. Vock*, but he proved unsuitable, being too old, and leading an improper life. After a very short pastorate he had to leave again.

Finally, it was in this same church at Lancaster that the disastrous coetus meeting of 1752 was held, where four ministers left and formed a rival coetus.

In these circumstances, although Otterbein here found an abundance of what is called material—*Stoff*, matter—he could hardly expect to find much spirit. But those old German congregations made up in cohesiveness what they lacked in aggressiveness. The average German Christian harbors more of faith in Christ and love to Christ than he is apt to show. In spite of all the misfortunes that had befallen the Lancaster flock, the life of the congregation at once revived under Otterbein's preaching. Large and attentive audiences crowded the building. The year following, a larger stone church was built.

So far, so good. But the true church, the Jerusalem gathered by Christ Himself from on high, is built of

lively stones. And it pleased God to bless them with increase of life as well as of size.

One Sunday, after Otterbein had preached an incisive sermon on repentance and faith, a man powerfully convicted of his sinfulness came to Otterbein's house for spiritual advice. That was a new experience for the young minister. True enough, he was not devoid of Christian life; almost all his lifetime he had breathed the atmosphere of communion with Christ and His saints. He was no stranger to the personal knowledge of sin and misery, which according to the Heidelberg catechism is the first thing necessary to salvation. But he lacked that power of the Spirit, which enables Christ's servants properly to guide souls anxiously seeking salvation. He did not know what to say in private to the man whose soul he had stirred up in public. He looked upon him, and with deep emotion said: *Mein Freund, bei mir ist heute guter Rat teuer.* "My friend, good advice is scarce with me to-day."

The young ruler of Luke xviii:18 lacked one thing, and Christ told him what it was. He must consecrate himself to God's service all in all. But the young ruler was not ready then to take that step. Most Christians when challenged by Jesus for a full surrender of all, plead for more time. Unwisely so. The more convenient season, to-morrow, moves with man as the moon does with the nocturnal wanderer. To-morrow is never. But Otterbein chose the part of wisdom. Immediately, just as he was, he repaired to his study, and there unreservedly consecrated himself to his Lord, and

the Lord accepted him—He always does—and endowed him with power from above, Acts i:8, and invested him with the full insignia of his office, David's Key.

Henceforth, in his pastoral work, he could effectually reach out for higher things than the external upbuilding of his congregation, and could lead in person many of his members to the personal Christ. To his great sorrow, however, he saw that the leading men and the bulk of his people continued in comparative indifference. The fact is, that generally the mind of the congregation has more influence than the pastor's mind. The conversation of the membership, their every-day talk, is greater in force as well as in volume than the pastor's talk. They are too many for him alone. It is only when his words are seconded by the leaders of the church that the seed, after it has germinated and sprouted, receives the fostering care, the watering, and the sheltering needed to mature the tender plant to the full stature of Christ, Eph. iv:13.

Otterbein's leading men in Lancaster, it is true, did not object to the intensified earnestness of the membership awakened by the pastor's zeal; they rather approved of it, since it filled the pews and the exchequer. But they did what was worse. They remained careless and indifferent for themselves, nor would they even yield so much to his earnest expostulations as to exclude from the Lord's table members leading immoral lives. They could not be made to see that for this very fact many were sickly and many slept. I. Cor. xi:30.

Accordingly, Otterbein prepared to leave them. When

accepting their call he had engaged himself for five years. At the expiration of the time he announced his determination to seek another field of labor. But they were very loth to let him go, and remembering his desire to have unworthy members excluded from communion they now promised to yield to his wishes if he would consent to stay with them. His fellow pastors in coetus-meeting joined their entreaties to those of the congregation. Under such pressure Otterbein could not well refuse. But he would stay no longer than one year, and at the end of his sixth year of service he resigned unconditionally.

During his pastorate, among other good things, the custom was introduced that before each communion the pastor had a personal interview with each communicant on the condition of his faith-life, a custom borrowed from the Reformed churches in the lower Rhine region. The Lancaster people kept it up for three quarters of a century.

From Lancaster Otterbein went to a quiet country charge, Tulpehocken, where he rested from the great strain to which his mind had been put, but did by no means abstain from work, for how could the Christ in man's heart be idle? Love never is. He here made good progress in learning how to do personal work.

In 1760 he accepted a call to Frederick, Md., where he was able from the start to present the gospel in that incisive form in which John saw it proceed from Christ's mouth, like a two-edged sword, and in which the author of the epistle to the Hebrews describes it,

chap. iv: 12, "piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit." Preaching of that sort is the kind that calls forth active opposition, and active opposition is far less to be feared than a stolid, passive indifference.

When, one Sunday morning, one of the leading men locked the church door against Otterbein and could not be prevailed upon to open it for the large audience that had gathered, Otterbein, like the war-horse scenting the battle from afar, put on his whole gospel-armor and, standing on a large tombstone in the churchyard, joyfully preached such a sermon that the key had to come forth from his opponent's pocket, and the same hands that had locked the door felt constrained to unlock it again. Evidently the key of David, Rev. iii: 7, was not in the enemy's hand, but in that of the fearless preacher.

A new stone church was built here under Otterbein's ministrations, just as it had been done in Lancaster, but more than that was built, the temple of lively stones, Lebendige Steine. I. Pet. ii: 5, a fellowship of true believers, among whom there never were wanting men able to conduct meetings when their pastor was absent, men who held prayer-meetings for many years after Otterbein had left and a successor had been elected that did not favor them.

In a report of the coetus, Otterbein is represented as "having worked himself nearly to death in Frederick," and no wonder, for, not content with work in his own

charge, he preached all over Maryland and far into Virginia.

After five years of hard work here, he went to York, Pa., choosing this call from a large number of others received. While there, he made his long intended trip to Europe, once more to visit the home of his youth, after an absence of eighteen years. To his great joy he found his aged mother still living, and so were his five brothers, now all active pastors in the Reformed church. His brother, George Godfrey, pastor in Duisburg, was a standard bearer of the faithful in their battle with the powerful current of Rationalism at that time in the flush of popularity. When William told him of his personal experience in Lancaster, he listened with deep interest, and no sooner was the testimony finished than he arose from his chair, embraced his American brother, and, with tears flowing, said, "My dear brother William, now we are more than brothers in the flesh, we are one in the spirit; blessed be the name of the Lord!"

Returned to America he found a number of calls awaiting him. His York people would have been but too glad to retain him, just as those in Frederick, Tulpehocken, and Lancaster were, for as Stahlschmidt writes: "He is a very gentle and kind man, and respected everywhere because of his pious and godly manners." But for that very reason scarcely a year passed by without his receiving invitations and calls from other places. Church people may not always be willing to accept for themselves the glorious joy and

the sweet peace in store for all who surrender entirely to their most gracious Lord, but they always recognize the blessing bestowed on such men, whenever in their daily walk they meet them, and feel attracted by them.

Finally Baltimore succeeded in securing him.

Of the origin and the early history of the Reformed church in Baltimore but little is known. Probably it is of more recent date than that of Philadelphia, the tide of immigration into Maryland having set in considerably later. The first mention made of a congregation in Baltimore is that in 1765 it is reported vacant. In 1768 *John Christopher Faber* was called by it, an orthodox minister with a thorough university training obtained at Heidelberg; but he had been rejected by the Deputies when he applied for their assistance and recommendation. He then came over on his own responsibility and found an open door in Baltimore. But he proved cold and tedious in the pulpit, and his conversation under the pulpit was devoid of the salt—entertaining rather than elevating. For that reason, a number of the members, under the leadership of Pastor *Benedict Schwob*, had left his church and had formed a new organization. This Schwob had been an elder in a neighboring country church, of good moral character, with the love of Christ in his heart, and coetus had ordained him, since he proved sufficiently well educated.\* Under Schwob the new con-

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\*His ordination was, later on, acquiesced in by the Deputies, because they considered their authority confined to the limits of Pennsylvania.

gregation built a chapel and seemed prosperous, but there was constant friction and bad feeling between the old and the new congregation. Upon their appealing to coetus they were advised both to dismiss their pastors, which they did, without, however, effecting a reunion. Several pastors were recommended to them, but none of them would accept a field so full of difficulties. Finally Schwob recommended Otterbein, and he accepted, much to the surprise of his brother ministers. They mostly favored the older congregation; the Deputies also sided with them. The membership of the new one was small, and it did seem strange that he should leave after a short pastorate of three years only the large and peaceful flock at York, where he enjoyed the love and confidence of all, for what might be called a crown of thorns. But, like all the charges so far served by him, the York congregation was by no means a unit in Christian sentiment; and by this time he had learned by much and varied experience that a house divided against itself, Matth. xii:25, does not form a good base of operations in Christian warfare. In general, congregations retain the character of their founders. First impressions are lasting impressions. Now at last an opportunity presented itself to work in a congregation avowedly formed under the standard of the Christ with the promise of the Holy Spirit for all believers, in opposition to a Gospel without His power. To him this seemed his golden opportunity, the turning tide in his affairs that comes but once in human life. He seized

it, and he chose well. More than forty years he was permitted to spend here in labor owned by Christ and richly blessed by God.

This change of field was made in 1774. But in order to fully understand the nature of Otterbein's labors in Baltimore, it is necessary to turn back to what had happened years before. In 1744 one of the great lights in the European churches came to America, *George Whitefield*, on a similar errand, and by a similar providence to that of Zinzendorf in 1741. By a significant coincidence he came in the very same year that an American revivalist of different stamp, *Jonathan Edwards*, broke with the "half-way covenant." Whitefield created a widespread sensation. His audiences were numbered by thousands and by myriads. His impassionate words stirred up the sober minds of the eastern colonist as well as of the less educated pioneer of the west. Never before had America witnessed such a tumult of holy emotions. And as often as he repeated his visits, and as far as he extended them all over the colonies, invariably the same results would follow: immense crowds, frequent conversions of hardened sinners, and jubilant rejoicings in the power of the Spirit.

The Reformed church never has been of the Chinese-wall-celestial-empire kind. Her heart always beat in sympathy with the pulsations of Christ-life everywhere. It had warmed when Zinzendorf came; it warmed again when Whitfield came, and twenty years before Otterbein went to Baltimore, many Re-

formed congregations in southern Pennsylvania and in Maryland had come to feel the effects of the revivalists' fervent eloquence.

About fourteen years before, in 1760, it came to pass that a Mennonite preacher plowed his field not far from Lancaster. Mennonite ministers have to handle the plow, since they receive no salaries. But this one, *Martin Boehm*, was only half a minister. He had been elected preacher, and had essayed to preach, but again and again he had failed. He might have talked, but being an earnest and sincere man he could not thrash empty straw, and to do justice to the Gospel of infinite grace, words failed him. And now, whilst plowing, he came to feel his failure so keenly that he fell on his knees in a plow-furrow, and in answer to his supplications, thought he heard a voice in his heart crying: „Verloren, verloren!“ “Lost, lost!“ “Then let me go on with my farm-work,” he said to himself, and again he put his hand to the plow. But the voice seemed to follow him through every round, and at length, unable to contain himself any longer, he knelt down in the middle of his field, crying: “Lord, save me, I perish!” Then came to his thoughts another voice, saying: “I am come to seek and save that which is lost.” And immediately there was in his heart the unspeakable joy of salvation.

Now he was able to preach to purpose. His small meeting-house could not hold his audiences, and after the custom of those days, a      große Versammlung,

a large meeting, was called in Isaac Long's barn, near Lancaster. Here some Lutherans and Reformed attended, and Otterbein also was present, who at that time was serving the Tulpehocken charge, his soul yet aglow with the first love of a fully consecrated life. Hearing Boehm's stirring words, he could not control his emotions, but rushed forward and, unmindful of clerical dignity, folded the plainly attired preacher in his arms, exclaiming with a loud voice, "We are brethren."

After that, many similar meetings were held where the two worked together, and a close friendship sprung up between them.

In Baltimore another prominent revivalist entered into intimate friendship with Otterbein, *Francis Asbury*, one of the founders of the Methodist Church in America—a friendship maintained unbroken until Otterbein's death. Such was Asbury's intimacy with Otterbein that, when Asbury was to be ordained to the office of bishop, Otterbein was asked to assist. He did not, however, comply. Probably he had become aware of the distrust likely to be produced in the minds of his people by so pronounced an intercourse with the leader of another denomination.

The same consideration seems to have guided him in holding the so-called Antietam meetings. He knew how to appreciate the blessings derived from mass-meetings, where earnest Christians coming from different congregations may exchange their thoughts, to

receive new impulses of love and to be inspired with increased faith. But he had also learned to fear the dangers connected with interdenominational meetings. Churches then were not ripe for them. Many will never be ripe for them before the advent of Christ. Otterbein now preferred to have gatherings controlled by persons of his own church.

The first were held at Antietam, the celebrated battleground of a later time. The first one of which records have been preserved met at Pipe creek, and was attended by members from Baltimore, Frederick, Antietam, and other places. At the next meeting, held in October of the same year, six Reformed ministers were present. In June of the next year another was held in Frederick, with 300 persons present; next they met in Baltimore, in October. Subsequently a few more meetings were held, but the War of Independence, with its troubles, put an end to them.

In themselves such mass meetings were not entirely new in the Reformed church. Similar ones had been held in the Lower Rhine region, but a new feature made its appearance in the Antietam meetings—the appointment of class-leaders for the spiritually minded in each congregation represented. The name of class-leaders was borrowed from the Methodists and indicates that these men were to hold class-meetings, the main feature of which is that those present tell of their own spiritual condition, and that is something foreign to Reformed usage. The Reformed always have had prayer-meetings. *Voetius*, who died in 1676,

professor in Utrecht, a champion of orthodoxy, was a warm advocate of the "Collegia Pietatis," week-day-meetings for prayer and Bible study. But as to a regular weekly account given of each participant's inner life, that would not seem in accordance with the proper distrust in man's knowledge of self and of God's secrets, Deut. xxix, 29.\* There is also much of mystery in the New Testament. As we believe in the mysterious presence of the Lord in the communion-service of believers, so we desire to continue in "Holding the mystery of the faith," I. Tim. iii: 9. And mysteries must not be and cannot be made the subject of testimony in meeting. They are between God and the individual.

The United Brethren in Christ—which organization grew out of the Big Meetings, not the Antietam meetings, claim Otterbein as their founder. But he, as well as the other five Reformed pastors interested in the Antietam meetings, never left their church. The next active after Otterbein, *John Wm. Hendel*, pastor in Philadelphia, and honored by Princeton College with the title of D. D., prepared a large number of young men for the Reformed ministry. All of them held prayer-meetings that were meetings of prayer, and all of them practiced church discipline that punished.

It must be admitted, however, that Otterbein's attitude toward the church is not quite as clear as that of those five. Some of the facts in his later life are hard

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\*The secret things belong unto the Lord our God.

to harmonize. The new church organization was perfected September 25, 1800, with the election of Otterbein as bishop and Martin Boehm as his associate. And yet, six years later, 1806, Otterbein attended the meeting of coetus. At this meeting the rationalistic element came to the front, grown powerful partly **through** the incoming of rationalistically trained ministers from Germany, partly through the general decadence of religion following in the train of the revolutionary war. War is hell, not only by fostering vice in camp-life, but also by giving patriotism the precedence over loyalty to Christ and his church, and overshadowing the glory of true Christian heroism in the humbler walks with the fascinating glamor of military heroism.

At the coetus (now synod) meeting of 1806, Pastor Becker, a student of Halle, where rationalism by that time had succeeded pietism, made so fierce an attack on Otterbein that Otterbein abruptly left, and never came again. It is reported, however, that Rev. Isaac Gerhart paid him a visit in 1812, and was told by him explicitly that he considered himself a member of the German Reformed synod, only that from old age he could no longer attend to meetings.

Perhaps he considered the United Brethren in Christ an interdenominational society like the Tract Society or the Bible Society, membership in which would by no means conflict with church-membership.

When Otterbein died in 1813, aged 87 years, he was trustee of the church property, and willed it to the Reformed church. But his will was set aside, and the

large congregation with the church on Conway street built by him, passed over into the hands of the United Brethren.

If the Reformed church failed to obtain the full benefit of his abundant labors, a two-fold lesson drawn from that fact suggests itself. To be cautious in colabor with men of other denominations and in making use of extraordinary meetings and measures, on the one hand; and on the other hand, to be cautious in opposing good men in the church when burning with pious zeal they use means and methods different from the customary church-work.

ALBERT CONRAD HELFFENSTEIN.

Another leading revivalist of the Reformed church of those days was *Albert Conrad Helffenstein*, a man of old Reformed stock, whose descendants, however, like Otterbein's congregation, have passed into another church.

His great-grandfather, in the thirty years' war, narrowly escaped from the Catholics seeking to kill him for his loyalty to his Reformed church. His father, a prominent minister of the Palatinate, longed to go to America, to escape from the worldliness and rationalism then prevailing among his fellow ministers, but never could carry out his purpose. However, he encouraged his two sons to go. One was Albert Conrad and the other *John Henry Helffrich* (half brother, whose descendants have in unbroken succession served part of one and the same charge, near Allentown, Pa.).

After the completion of Albert's studies in Heidelberg the two brothers applied through their father to the Deputies, and were by them sent to Pennsylvania.

They had a long and stormy passage, from September 6, 1771, to January 14, 1772, suffering greatly from sickness, hunger, and thirst, frequently in peril of life. In those times passengers had to furnish their own provisions, and the two brothers had been too poor to lay in a supply sufficient for four months. But God turned their misery into a great blessing.

Once an immense wave nearly washed Albert Helffenstein overboard. It was on January 7, 1772, a date never after forgotten by him, a true red-letter day, for then and there in the anguish of his soul he gave his whole heart to the King, whose garments are red with blood "from the wrath of God." Is. lxiii: 1. God stilled the storm. After that, their voyage proceeded prosperously. Seven days later he landed safely in New York.

His first charge was Germantown. Four years later he was called to Lancaster. Here he continued the work of bringing souls to decide for Christ, as Otterbein had done fourteen years before, and after him Hendel from 1765-68. But the Germantown people were so warmly attached to Helffenstein that after three years they succeeded in again securing his services, and keeping him to the end of his life, ten years later.

He was one of the most impressive preachers. On one occasion he mounted his pulpit, closed his eyes,

bowed his head, folded his hands, and exclaimed: "Lord, save me or I perish." Some of his hearers took alarm, supposing him in physical distress, but he had in mind Peter sinking in the Sea of Galilee, when attempting to walk on the water with Jesus. In a few seconds he opened his eyes and proceeded, "Thus it was that Peter cried when he saw himself in danger of sinking."

After this first introduction he offered prayer, according to his habit, and then the second introduction followed, based on another text, and then the sermon on the Sunday's text. Of course, singing by the congregation came in between.

During his pastorate at Lancaster, a large number of Hessian prisoners of war were kept there. To them he once preached on Is. lii:2, "For thus saith the Lord, Ye have sold yourselves for nought, and shall be redeemed without money." His hearers felt the sting and the shame of their mercenary soldiership more strongly than the healing balsam of promise contained in the text, and greatly resented the preacher's plainness of speech.

On a later occasion, after a sermon on the text, "If the son make you free, ye shall be free indeed," John viii: 36, the excitement of the prisoners rose to so high a pitch that he had to be sent home under a safeguard.

There are those who want ministers to say peace, peace only and never to unsheath the two-edged sword, and under such preaching they are very apt to fall asleep. But there was not much sleeping done under

Helffenstein's preaching, and often great awakenings followed. He was no dim tallow candle, but a burning and a shining light, highly tempered steel burning in pure oxygen with unearthly brightness but rapidly consuming itself and soon dying of its own intensiveness. He died at the age of 42 years only, when his church was in the midst of a revival.

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A third one of those revivalists may close their record here,

JOS. CHRISTIAN STAHLSCHMIDT.

He was born in 1740 in the Siegenland, the home of Otterbein and Haegener. There he had attended prayer meetings of awakened men, but had been forced by his father to forsake them. Unable to bear life at home under such conditions, he went to sea and spent ten years before the mast, among rude scoffers. But he kept close to Christ, and whenever on furlough, sought the fellowship of disciples. Twice during this time he visited his dear Tersteegen in Muelheim.

In 1770 he came to Philadelphia, where Dr. Weyberg, one of Otterbein's friends, was serving the Reformed congregation. Both Weyberg and Otterbein encouraged him to study for the ministry, and under Hendel's supervision he did so, privately. The Germantown congregation gave him a call, and Otterbein, Hendel, and Helffenstein urged its acceptance upon him, but he felt diffident and it was only seven years later that he accepted a call to a country charge near York.

People here were divided on the question of loyalty to King or Congress. Stahlschmidt believed on the ground of Rom. xiii: 1-2, that one should be subject to the de facto government, but the royalists among his members, for that reason, looked upon him as a rebel. In consequence, after a short pastorate of two years only, Stahlschmidt returned to his old home, where he spent the remaining thirty-seven years of his life as a leader of prayer-meetings, and as a champion of Bible-Christianity against the rationalism then prevailing.

## V. INDEPENDENCE.

When the first century of the Reformed church's life in America neared its end, the political independence of the colonies had been fully established, and the loose confederacy of states had developed into a firm union. As a necessary consequence, the American church could no longer remain a dependency of a European church; she must begin to be responsible to Christ directly for all she did. The time had come for the deputies to leave their American foster-children to act for themselves, as a wise father, in due time, dismisses his adult son from tutelage and guardianship.

After Schlatter's dismissal, they had continued forty years longer to send ministers and moneys, and to exercise a careful supervision over the actions of the Coetus. But the time came when the services of ministers trained in the ways of Europe were no longer acceptable to the American-born descendants of German immigrants. Not on the ground of language mainly; it was not only that the broad brogue of some Swiss newcomers was complained of as distasteful and unintelligible; nor was it the uncontrolled temper of others only that repelled American-bred people trained to habits of self-government and self-command; it was not only that most Europeans had never learned and some never could learn the rules of calm parlia-

mentary discussion, nor how to meet their fellow-men on terms of equality, and their opponents in the spirit of tolerance—the whole bearing and personality of European men proved more or less uncongenial to the American church. The last minister sent, in 1788, D. C. Pick, was not accepted by Coetus.

Moreover, in the matter of ordinations, vexatious delay and sometimes serious losses were caused when the Deputies insisted upon being consulted before Coetus could ordain licentiates. In the administration of church discipline also all suspensions from the ministry as well as all reinstatements had to be sanctioned in Holland before they could become valid in America. Sometimes Coetus was reprimanded quite severely for rash action in such cases. Still more sharply the Americans were called to order when they began to speak of establishing an institution of learning. The establishment of Franklin College in Lancaster\*, although not controlled by the Reformed Church, was made the occasion for some pointed questions.

These checks and frictions began to gall the Americans. The spirit of independence was up in the land, and freedom was in the air. In New York the Dutch dominions had cut loose from their mother church. The Pennsylvania Germans had been weaned from the counsels of the Deputies by those interrup-

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\*Fifty years later this Franklin College was merged into the Marshall College of Mercersburg moved to Lancaster, and the united institution placed under control of the church.

tions of commerce and correspondence that were unavoidable in a war waged with the ruler of the ocean.

In Holland, on the other side, the interest in the needs of Pennsylvania began to wane, the collections dwindled down, and the transmissions of new ministers grew few and far between. Nor was there any longer a pressing demand for them, since the American pastors were now training candidates for the ministry sufficient to meet the demand.

Financial conditions also had undergone a great change. American pastors no longer stood in need of missionary appropriations, their congregations being now able and willing to support them. As early as 1764, Coetus resolved to forego all financial aid tendered by the Deputies to ministers stationed in America. The resolution was not fully carried into effect then, but gradually it came about that moneys from Holland were used for the traveling expenses only of the men sent, for pastors' widows, and for invalid ministers.

In 1791 Coetus resolved, inasmuch as the Deputies had sent no answer to their request for authority to ordain licentiates Stock and Rahauser, to proceed with their ordination, and henceforth to examine, license, and ordain candidates on the authority of Coetus alone.

In 1792 Coetus resolved to elect a committee for the preparation of a constitution.

In 1793 the new constitution was submitted and ac-





Ordination of a Minister in Amsterdam, in 1730.



The Cloister Reformed Church at the Hague, where the  
Deputies met.

cepted. It contained no reference to the Deputies, and made Coetus an independent synod.

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For sixty years the church of Holland had carried on the work of helping their German brethren in America. The whole number of ministers commissioned for service here and assisted while here, amounts to thirty-seven, and the moneys transmitted amounted to \$25,880 in our money. But of far greater value before God than this large sum of money and these valuable men is the persevering faith and love displayed by this remarkable body of men, which under the name of The Deputies, will go down to posterity as a splendid illustration of charity which "suffereth long and is kind," "envieth not," "vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, does not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." 1 Cor. xiii.

But beside this brilliant constellation on the heavenly canopy spread over the American Reformed Church, her gratitude is also claimed by those illustrious men belonging to other churches, who stimulated her to increased spiritual activity, the Separatists and the Mystics, the Moravians and the Methodist and Mennonite Evangelists.

In the science of botany the celebrated Fritz Mueller has recorded a variety of observations proving that the pollen of some flowers does not act as well on the seed-germs of the mother plant as upon those of others.

Nature even has provided ways and means to prevent the pollen from coming in contact with its own seed-germs, and to transfer it to others. This transfer is accomplished by the agency of insects and winds. Flowers from seeds fertilized with their own pollen generally prove inferior to those from seeds fertilized with pollen coming from different plants.

Like many other laws of nature, this also applies to God's Kingdom. Any denomination that will confine its range of thought and the maintenance of its ministry to its own resources exclusively, is likely, in the course of time, to stagnate, to degenerate, and to contract a sort of spiritual consumption. A free circulation of air and of blood is conducive, yea necessary to a healthful life. We have good reason, then, to give thanks to the Lord for having brought to bear so many and such varied influences upon our church during its formative period, whereby He made her what she is now, firm in the maintenance of principles characteristic of her own peculiar life and mission, and at the same time willing to receive new inspirations from all and every one confessing the Christ come in the flesh.

#### THE INDEPENDENTS.

This narrative necessarily has dealt mainly with ministers in the Coetus, but the reader's knowledge of the early church would be incomplete and one-sided, if the multitude of those were passed by in silence, who under the name of independent ministers served numerous Reformed congregations perhaps equally large

as the number of those in connection with the Coetus. The bulk of them bore a more than doubtful character.

One of them, *Cyriacus Spangenberg de Reidemeister*, died on the gallows in Berlin, Pa. He seems to have been a soldier in Holland, where at that time many Germans in desperate circumstances were entrapped by the wily recruiting officer. He came to America in 1780 and studied theology with Boos, independent minister in Reading, and repeatedly applied to Coetus for ordination, but was rejected as often. Since 1785 he officiated unordained. He may have been a fluent speaker, but when he wanted to marry, the fact leaked out that he had a wife in Holland. In consequence; he had to seek a new field of usefulness—to himself, and three times he succeeded for a short period. A few months after he had been settled as paster over the Berlin charge, the congregation was called by the elders to a meeting and Elder Glessner moved his dismissal. That so enraged Spangenberg that he jumped on him and stabbed him. He was arrested, brought to trial, and executed six months later.

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Another, *J. H. Weickel*, when serving Boehm's church, in the beginning of the Revolution, preached on Eccl. ii: 13. "Better is a poor and wise child, than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished." If he intended to produce a sensation, he succeeded beyond hope, for the congregation contained quite a large number of tories, and he finally had to resign.

His favorite amusement was to turn his horse loose in a small yard, and fire his pistols over his horse's head to train it for military service, he said. Finally he is said to have turned highway robber.

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Another, *F. W. Vandersloot*, posed as a great man, because he had been "inspector" of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium in Berlin, Prussia, and had preached in the "Dome," the cathedral where the royal court attended service. But an inspector there is no more than a tutor, and the places of inspectors were given to licentiates who as such had to preach probationary sermons in the Dome before their examiners and the sexton. But with his pretensions he so imposed upon the farmers in Northampton county that the largest congregations chose him pastor. Finally he was detected in bigamy and had to quit.

It must be said, however, that the number of immoral, or tramp, ministers of those times is by no means as large as it has been represented. Of the forty-two ministers independent of Coetus known at this writing ten only led scandalous lives. To this number twelve more must be added, who originally were members of Coetus, but were suspended from the ministry. In all probability, the number of independents was about as large as that of the Coetus ministers, all of whose names are on record, whilst the independents frequently left no record behind.

Men like Haegener, Bechtel, Guldin, John Peter Mueller, Antes, Rauch, Brandmueller, and, perhaps, Hock, could not be classed with the impostors, although not subject to any ecclesiastical authority. The story of one such independent may help to form a correct estimate of their characters in general.

JOH. JOACHIM ZUBLY.

He was born in 1724 in St. Gall, Schlatter's home. His father came over in 1736 with a Swiss colony under Pastor Zuberbuehler. In those times quite a number of Swiss colonies guided by their pastors came to settle in the New World, e. g. Gotschy's colony, and that of Weiss. Zuberbuehler's colony went to Georgia, where Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, was at that time providing a home for the London debtors, for the French Huguenots, and for the persecuted Lutherans from Salzburg.

Zubly's father was a weaver of comparative wealth. When the father went to America, the son was left in school at home, and a sufficient sum of money was deposited to provide for the completion of his studies. By the time the son had completed his course in theology, his means were exhausted, and his father, who by this time had become a poor man, in a letter still preserved, asked the magistrate of St. Gall to furnish his son with the means to come to America and "preach the Gospel to the Indians and build up the Reformed Church," a request which seems to have been granted. Young Zubly, however, never got to the Indians. Im-

mediately upon his arrival, the youthful preacher of twenty years was called to the Purysburg, S. C., congregation. He was not content, however, with the comparatively narrow range of German fellowship. The excellent education his father had provided for him enabled him in a comparatively short time to master the language of his new country and to form the acquaintance of the most efficient Christian workers here. Whitefield and his orphans' home, Bethesda in Georgia, attracted him especially, and by Whitefield he was prevailed upon to make an evangelistic tour through the colonies, such at Whitefield himself had made repeatedly.

By sea he went to Philadelphia, in 1752, and preached for Steiner, not with his approbation however, for Steiner was not in sympathy with revivalism. Nor were his other Reformed brethren just then so situated that communion with them of an inspiring character could have been held. It was the very year when the Coetus-split occurred. But what Zubly did not find with his old countrymen, he abundantly found with his new countrymen. Everywhere the pulpits of the English churches were cheerfully placed at his disposal. Princeton also invited him, where Aaron Burr, father of the later vice president, at that time presided over the college. Later on, the college bestowed on Zubly the title of D. D. Then he came to New York, and the German Reformed congregation there desired to retain him as their pastor, but he felt called to preach repentance in many tongues and places. On every day

in New York he preached two or three times in German, English, and French.

From here he traveled through the interior of Pennsylvania, preaching in cities and country churches.

On his return home he finally took charge of a congregation in Savannah, where in the morning he preached in French and in the evening in English.

When the Revolution came, the political storm carried him away for some time. On July 4, 1775, he preached a sermon\* on Is. xi: 13. "The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." His subject was the jealousy existing then between the southern states and New England, which must be overcome for united resistance and final deliverance.

The politicians recognized the high value of Zubly's eloquence and influence; he was elected member of Congress, and to him fell the honor of opening its proceedings with prayer. A still greater honor might have been his, that of signing the great Declaration of Independence, and he might have become one of the immortals whose names are read generation after generation, by millions and myriads of men. But he was not politician enough for that. After all, his sacred calling for him was of more weight than human glory. He knew of a higher liberty than political independence, a liberty not fought for with the soldier's sword.

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\*Somewhat prophetically, for the Declaration of Independence came one year later.

Being a messenger of the peace he would not advocate war against England, and left Congress in the spring of 1776, to return to pastoral work in Savannah. But here his influence was gone now. He was suspected of secretly corresponding with the British, was exiled from Savannah, and lost his property by confiscation. He died in 1781.

Nine of his sermons in print are preserved. The first, of 1794, bears the title: *But They are Not Converted.*

Another, printed 1765, in London, is entitled: *The True and the False Conversion, and the Difference between Them.*

In another, delivered before the Georgia Legislature in 1775, he gives a concise account of Switzerland's struggle for liberty. His "Evangelical Witness" reached the fourth edition.

#### A LIST OF MINISTERS PERMANENTLY CONNECTED WITH THE COETUS.

Alsentz, Bartholomaeus, Boehm, Boehme, Blumer, Chitara, Dubendorf, Dubois, Dalliker, Faber, Faber, jun., Foehring, Frankenfeld, Gebhart, Gobrecht, Hochreutiner, Hendel, Henop, Helffrich, Helffenstein, Herman, Hautz, Leidich, Lischy, Mann. Nevelling, Pauli, Pomp, Otterbein, Rahauser, Rieger, Runckel, Stapel, Schwob, Conr. Steiner, Stahlschmidt, Stock, Schlatter, Troidenier, Tempelmann, Weiss, Wissler, Waldschmidt, Weyberg, Witner, Weymer, Wagner, Weber, Wack, Winckhaus.

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A LIST OF MINISTERS NOT BELONGING TO COETUS,  
SOME SUSPENDED.

Antes, Brandmueller, Berger, (Bucher), Boas, Bechtel, Corminga, Dorsius, Decker, Dillenberger, Goetschi, Gasser, Giese, Goos, Guldin, Gueting, Hecker, Ingold, Hirzel, J. J. Hock, Kals, Kern, Haegener, Lange, Lupp, Loretz, Joh. P. Mueller, Peter Mueller, Fr. C. Mueller, Martin, Michael, Pick, Pernisius, Pythan, Rauch, Reiss, Ruebel, Roth, Rothenbuehler, Luther, Steiner, sen., Schnorr, Stoy, Straub, Spangenberg, Schneider, Vandersloot, Willy, Wallauer, Weickel, Wuerz, Zubly, Zuberbuehler, Zufall.

MINISTERS OF COETUS, 1793.

Present: Faber, Hendel, Helffrich, Hock, Hautz, Gobrecht, Mann, Pauli, Rahauser, Runckel, Wack, Wagner, Winkhaus.

Absent: Dalliker, Dubendorf, Blumer, Gueting, Hermann, Otterbein, Pomp, Troldenier, Weber.

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These lists contain the names of fifty German Reformed ministers connected with the Coetus, and fifty four not connected with it, one hundred and four in all; add to them six names omitted because doubtful, and the result is that one hundred and ten ministers were laboring during this period, from 1714 to 1793, among the Reformed Germans in North America, some of them men eminent for Christian character and spiritual power, almost all of them patiently and diligently preaching the Gospel of Christ; administering the sac-

raments in reverent faith; carefully instructing the youth; and privately, as well as publicly feeding their flocks with the bread that comes from heaven.

In thus working for Christ and the church, they encountered all the hardships of pioneer life, "being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; they wandered in deserts and in mountains." Hebr. xi: 37, 38. But they that kept the faith, now have their reward of exceeding joy before the throne of Christ Jesus, in whom they believed, though then they did not see him. They now are in glory; all their agonies are over; in untroubled peace, with no one to molest them or make them afraid, they stand before the throne of the Lamb, in white garments, shining like the stars of heaven for aye and aye.

Many thousands and thousands of immortal souls were saved and comforted by their humble labors; thousands of households were gladdened by their presence and from the mean pursuit of earthly things lifted up to a heavenly walk and conversation; from strife and jealousy to peace and happiness; from the bitterness of mutual reproaches to the sweetness of mutual forbearance. They stood by the sick tortured in pain and remorse, and led them through penitence to peace; they stood by the dying and whispered the sweet name of Jesus into their ears about to be closed forever to all earthly sound and human voice; they stood by the grave and consoled the widow and the orphans with the promises of the God of Love and the Christ of the Resurrection.

More than that: *They built the Church*. Amid storms and tempests, when unbelievers scoffed and men of little faith trembled because of the shame and the weakness of this visible church: they worked on. Believing that, as Jesus told Peter, the gates of hell should not prevail against her rock-built foundations, they said to their own doubting minds, Be still! and to their discouraged flocks, Keep the faith, fight the good fight! And He who would not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, Is. xlii: 3, He who intercedes for weak disciples and compassionately smiles on despairing believers, the ever glorious Son of the living God, He gave them the victory.

The little band of twenty-two preachers who constituted the Coetus of 1792, in the course of one century has grown into eight synods with twelve hundred ministers, whilst the population of our country has multiplied twenty fold in the course of a century, the Reformed Church in the United States has multiplied fifty fold, and at this very writing the president of the whole country is worshipping in one of her humble churches.

Glorious things of thee are spoken,  
Zion, city of our God;  
He whose word cannot be broken  
Formed thee for His own abode;  
On the Rock of Ages founded,  
What can shake thy sure repose;  
With salvation's wall surrounded,  
Thou may'st smile at all thy foes.

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